DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 394 424 HE 029 118

AUTHOR	Pengilly, Joan Forssmark
TITLE	The First Female President of a Co-Educational Public Institution of Higher Education: An Historical Examination of the Presidential Tenure of Julia Ann Sears, 1872-1873.
PUB DATE	10 Apr 96
NOTE	264p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, April 8-13, 1996).
PUB TYPE	Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*College Administration; *College Presidents; Females; Feminism; Higher Education; *Sex Bias; *Sex Discrimination; *Sex Stereotypes
IDENTIFIERS	George Peabody College for Teachers TN; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Minnesota (Mankato); *Normal Schools; *Sears (Julia Ann)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the life and career of Julia Ann Sears, the first known female president of a public, coeducational institution of higher education in the United States. Sears, an educator from Massachusetts, served as president (principal) of the State Normal School at Mankato, Minnesota, from 1872-73 after teaching there for one year. At the end of her very successful year as president, the state governing board replaced Sears with a man who had no teaching or normal school experience, and Sears was offered the lesser position of First Assistant. Sears returned to Massachusetts and within two years was teaching at Peabody Normal College in Nashville, Tennessee. She was a mathematics professor there for thirty-two years, training over 10,000 teachers to build a public school system in the South. Sears' early life in Massachusetts, as well as her teaching experiences in Maine and Boston are explored as they relate to her term as an administrator in Minnesota and her later years as a respected educator of teachers in Tennessee. Included in the study's contextual framework are discussions of nineteenth century feminism, women in higher education administration in the late nineteenth century, women's entry into professions, early state coordinating boards, the normal school movement, Mankato State Normal School, and early education in Massachusetts. Contains 284 references. Three short appendixes include the birth record of Julia Ann Sears; a newspaper article by Sears in the Mankato Weekly Review explaining her position on the nonrenewal of her contract; and a citizens petition to the State Normal School Board. Tables list: (1) Normal Schools in the United States and Canada in the Early Years, (2) Faculty Salaries, 1871-72 vs. 1872-73, and (3) Faculty Salaries 1873-74. (Author/NAV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 394 424

THE FIRST FEMALE PRESIDENT OF A COEDUCATIONAL PUBLIC INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL TENURE OF JULIA ANN SEARS, 1872 - 1873

by

Joan Forssmark Pengilly

Presented at the American Educational Research Association Conference, April 10, 1996 (New York City)

NE 029 118

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Joan F. Pengilly
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ABSTRACT

Traditionally American universities and colleges have chosen male, white, middle-class presidents to lead them. Yet in recent years women have made progress in their quest for inclusion at the highest level of higher education administration. Although much has been written about male university presidents, little has been written about female presidents. The history of female presidents in the public sector has not been written. That history is begun with this historical examination of the presidential tenure of the first known female president of a public coeducational institution of higher education. Included in the contextual framework are discussions of nineteenth century feminism, women in higher education administration in the late nineteenth century, women's entry into professions, early state coordinating boards, the normal school movement, the formative years of Mankato State Normal School, and early education in Massachusetts.

Julia Ann Sears, an educator from Massachusetts, served as president (principal) of the State Normal School at Mankato, Minnesota, from 1872-73 after teaching there for one

year. At the end of her very successful year as president, the state governing board abolished the local governing board, all the teachers left the school, the State Board replaced Sears with a man who had no teaching or normal school experience, and Sears was offered the position of First Assistant with a reduction in salary. Miscommunications resulted in both Sears and another teacher accepting the same post. The Board decided against Sears, a decision that the students and citizens protested in what is known as the Sears Rebellion.

Sears returned immediately to Massachusetts and within two years was teaching at Peabody Normal College in Nashville, Tennessee. There she remained for thirty-two years as a mathematics professor training over 10,000 teachers to build a public school system in the South. She was never known to have mentioned her years in Minnesota to anyone.

Sears' early life in Massachusetts, as well as her teaching experiences in Maine and Boston are explored as they relate to her term as an administrator in Minnesota, her tenure as a president at Mankato is analyzed, and her later years as a well-respected educator of teachers in the South are examined.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES ix

I. PRESENTATION OF THE TOPIC 1

Introduction 1

Significance of the Study to the Field 4

Research Methodology 9

Scope and Limitations 12

Organization of the Paper. 14

Literature Search 15

II. SEARS IN NEW ENGLAND 20

Female Education in the United States Before 1840 20

Sears is Born, 1839 23

Family History 23

Village Life 27

Home Life 30

Religious Training 32

Local Education 34

Common School, 1844-54 34

East Dennis Academy, 1854-58 37

Page

Teacher Training in America 39

Massachusetts Normal Schools 39

Sears at Bridgewater Normal, 1858-60 47

Return to Cape Cod, 1860-66 53

Teaching Common School 53

Life in East Dennis and West Brewster 54

Teaching in Maine, 1866-68 57

Western State Normal School at Farmington . . 57

Pestalozzian Methods 57

Maine Teachers 58

Teaching in Boston, 1868-1871 60

Women in Boston 60

Life in Boston 63

Education in Boston 64

Advanced Classes at Massachusetts Institute of Technology 66

III. SEARS IN MINNESOTA 69

In Preparation 69

Westward Movement of Female Teachers 70

Education on the Western Frontier 72

Minnesota in the Nineteenth Century 74

History 74

Life 75

Education 80

Mankato Normal School, 1868-71 83

Page

Sears' Arrival in Mankato, Fall 1871 90

Teaching in Mankato, 1871-72 94

Fall and Spring Terms 94

Summer 1872 102

Sears as Principal, 1872-73 105

Status of Women in 1870s 105

First Term, Fall 1872 110

Second Term, Spring 1873 115

Summer 1873 119

Sears Rebellion 126

State Board Decision 126

Students Rebel 129

Citizen Outcry 131

Aftermath 133

IV. ANALYSIS MANKATO TENURE 137

Appointment 137

Faculty 138

Personnel 138

Faculty Salaries 142

Changes 143

Enrollment 143

Model School 143

Pledge 144

Graduation 144

Alumni Association 145

Page

Building and Equipment 145

Management 146

Community Relations 146

Student Relations 148

Board Relations 148

Faculty Relations 150

Personal Life 151

Living Arrangements 151

Church Affiliation 152

Community Activities 152

Political Affiliation 154

Public Notice 155

Personal Losses 158

Evaluation as a President 159

Nonrenewal of Contract 163

New Slate of Teachers 163

New Resident Director 164

New Principal 165

The Salary Question 166

The Board Takes Control 167

A Matter of Authority 169

Increased Spending 171

Austin vs. the Board 171

The Rebellion 173

V. SEARS' LIFE AS AN EDUCATOR IN THE SOUTH 180

Return to Massachusetts 180

Page

Sears in Nashville, Tennessee 181

History of George Peabody College for Teachers 181

Teaching at Peabody 184

Student and Faculty Unrest 187

Commemorative Events at Peabody 188

Retirement 193

Carnegie Retirement Allowance 193

Fairhaven Activities 194

Continuing Interest in Peabody College 196

Fundraising 196

Dormitory Reception Room Completed 200

Julia A. Sears Professorship of the Teaching of Mathematics 201

Other Interests during Retirement Years . . .203

Death at Age 90 204

Death and Inheritance 204

Sears' Family 206

Biographies of Sears 210

Epilogue 212

VI. SUMMARY 215

Summary and Conclusions of the Study 215

Suggested Future Research 220

REFERENCES 224

APPENDICES 248

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1.	Normal Schools in the United States and Canada in the Early Years	44
2.	Faculty Salaries, 1871-72 vs. 1872-73	142
3.	Faculty Salaries, 1873-74	167

PRESENTATION OF THE TOPIC

Introduction

The history of women in higher education is often divided into six periods, which chronicle the development of American education as it struggled to accept women into its traditional male world. From female literacy in the 1700s and the establishment of female academies and seminaries in the early part of the nineteenth century, to the admittance of women to coeducation for the first time when Oberlin College opened its doors to them in 1837 and the establishment of normal schools for teacher training shortly thereafter, women have persevered in their struggle for inclusion in higher education. The establishment of coeducational land grant colleges after 1862, and the establishment of the Seven Sisters women's colleges in the latter part of the nineteenth century opened new choices for women as they pried open the doors of traditional male professions. Between 1860 and 1890, the period referred to as "Respected Spinsterhood" (Palmieri, 1987), women entered a new profession as presidents of institutions of higher

education. However the few female role models in the role of president headed private female seminaries and colleges.

In New England, it was estimated in 1870 that there was a surplus of 30,000 unmarried females of marriage age--a surplus created not only by the Civil War, but also by the great exodus of males from eastern states who went west to pioneer new states (Livermore, 1883). Some colleges began to accept women as tuition-paying students just to survive financially. With little prospect of finding a husband, and a growing need for teachers due to the growing common school movement, women were encouraged to enter higher education in order to contribute to the nation. Women continued to view marriage and work as mutually exclusive and, since work was being encouraged by society, spinsterhood was viewed by society as a respectable status for a female (Palmieri, 1987). The increase of women in higher education between the Civil War and World War I, was said to be influenced by three major developments: 1) the growth in popularity of public education, 2) the Reconstruction Period immediately following the Civil War, and 3) the expansion of higher education (Solomon, 1985). By 1870 only one percent of the college-age population of the United States was enrolled in higher education, yet women constituted 21% of that one percent (Graham, 1978).

Female graduates of colleges and normal schools typically married or became teachers in common schools.

Women also became faculty of women's colleges and, to some degree, of co-educational colleges. Clifford (1988) states that in 1870 there was a higher percentage of female faculty in postsecondary education than in 1970. Yet women were not expected to rise through the administration of these institutions beyond the position of Dean of Women. Most institutions of postsecondary education were headed by men. Even the women's colleges, which later would favor female presidents, were initially headed by men; only Wellesley opened in 1875 with a female president; 100 years later, more than half of the Seven Sisters Colleges still had male presidents. Between 1865 and 1904, there were only 28 female presidents of female institutions (McGill, 1989). Not until 1978 did all of the Seven Sisters Colleges have female presidents (Solomon, 1985). It was, therefore, a rare occurence in the nineteenth century when a female graduate of a college or normal school found herself president of an institution of higher education.

In 1871 Frances Elizabeth Willard became the first female college president when she was appointed head of Evanston College for Ladies, a private single sex institution, which later became part of Northwestern University (Kane, 1981; Read & Witlieb, 1992). The following year, Julia Sears, a graduate of a coeducational normal school in Massachusetts, was appointed head of Mankato Normal School in Mankato, Minnesota, a state supported coeducational

public institution, which a century later became Mankato State University (Anderson, 1987). Sears, thus, became the first female president of any public coeducational institution of higher education in the United States.

The body of literature on female presidents contains no information about the earliest female presidents of public institutions: who they were, what they achieved, and how they impacted higher education and the history of women in higher education. This study will concentrate on the tenure of the first known female president of any type of public coeducational institution of higher education.

Significance of the Study

Traditionally, American universities and colleges have chosen male, white, middle-class presidents to lead them. Yet in recent years, women have made progress in their quest for inclusion at the highest level of higher education administration. In 1975, 148 women held the presidential office in American institutions of higher education, sixteen of which headed public colleges and universities. By 1992, 348 women held the presidential office, constituting approximately eleven percent of the total 3,164 academic presidents in the United States. Of these 348 female presidents, 167 headed public institutions (American Council on Education, 1992). About 60% of all new female presidents head public institutions, an increase from 42% in 1990 (Higher Education and National Affairs, 1993). During 1994

the total of female presidents grew to more than 400 (Featherman, 1994).

Much has been written about university presidents, though most of the non-dissertation literature focusses on the traditional *male* university president (Birnbaum, 1990; Fisher, 1984; McLaughlin & Reisman, 1990; Cohen & March, 1986; Kerr & Gade, 1986). Much has also been written about the upward mobility and the leadership styles of female leaders (Morrison, 1992; Chamberlain, 1988; Collins, Gilbert & Nycum, 1988; Rossi & Calderwood, 1973). Role conflicts of female university and college presidents are minimally addressed in the literature (Siegel, 1985; McLaughlin & Riesman, 1990). Profile studies of the female university president have been produced since 1976, with the latest publication in 1993 from the American Council on Education (Touchton, Shavlik & Davis, 1993).

Female academic presidents of private institutions are addressed in a moderate amount of the current body of literature. Biographies of male academic presidents are covered extensively. However, no body of literature exists which addresses the history of female presidents of *public* institutions of higher education.

There was little interest in female presidents before 1970 as there were so few of them and none headed large coeducational universities. Most literature about female presidents has appeared since 1980. A search through ERIC

for 1982-1993 identified six papers and seven journal articles on female college presidents; none of these 13 deal with early presidents of public institutions and none are historical in nature. Fobbs (1988), Mertz, Welch and Henderson (1990), Moore (1982), Twombly (1986), and Schultz, Montoya and Briere (1992) deal with women and upward mobility through the ranks of academia and the barriers they encounter. A research study of the Junior and Community College Research Committee in Texas (1981) addresses self-perceived leadership styles of female administrators and the perceptions of their subordinates. Green, Ross and Holmstrom (1988), Nason and Axelrod (1980), Riesman (1983), Shavlik and Touchton (1983), and several *On Campus With Women* newsletters report on women presidents: selection, profiles, spouses, and a national identification program.

Recent articles about female leaders and presidents include those concerned with leadership and presidential styles. Rosener (1990) gives invaluable insight into the leadership style of women, but not specifically of women *presidents*. North (1992) and Ryan (1993) address the environment for women leaders in higher education. Hamlin (1990) presents a description of the university president of the 1990s, which could apply to both male and female presidents.

Between 1974 and 1988 there were 10 dissertations written dealing with women presidents, all profile studies.

None are historical in nature. Between 1988 and 1992 an additional 11 dissertations were produced. Of these 11, six [Bowen (1988); Cooper (1992); Despain (1991); Kipetz (1990); Sanford-Harris (1990); and Woodlee (1992)] are profile studies of women presidents, including those of baccalaureate, two-year college, and public associate degree institutions, and a study of Black women presidents. Four [Jablonski (1992); McGill (1989); Velivis (1990); and Wheeler (1988)] deal with leadership styles of women presidents. One [Payne (1990)] examines communication skills of female college presidents. The McGill (1989) study is of particular interest as it is an historical study of three female presidents of private women's institutions (Alice Freeman Palmer, Martha Carey Thomas, and Elizabeth Cary Agassiz) and their impact on the status of women in higher education. None deal with early presidents in public institutions.

Since no records of female presidents were kept until the Office of Women in Higher Education of the American Council on Education began its list in 1975 in order to trace the movement of women upward through academia, each new female president of a public institution believed herself to be the first such president. In 1927 Rita Bolt was appointed president of Lyndon Normal School (Vermont) and was believed by her appointees to be the first female president. In 1935 Kate Zaneis was believed to be the first female president of a public college or university when she was appointed to head

Southeastern Oklahoma State Teachers College. In 1946 Ruth Haas was appointed president of Danbury State College (Connecticut) and was believed to be the first (Tisinger, 1991). Even in the mid-1970s, many public college female presidents believed they were the first to be appointed to a public institution.

Catherine Tisinger (1991), has said that no history of the female presidents in public institutions has been written. As she stated in *Women at the Helm: Pathfinding Presidents of State College and Universities*, "their stories are needed for a complete understanding of the contribution of women to the evolution of the public sector" (Tisinger, 1991, p. 3). While Tisinger identifies four of the earliest female presidents at public institutions (Julia Sears, Rita Bolt, Kate Zaneis and Ruth Haas), she also notes that none are mentioned in *Famous American Women: A Biographical Dictionary from Colonial Times to the Present*.

Of the 21 doctoral dissertations on women presidents, between 1974 and 1992, only one deals with early presidents, and these presidents headed private women's institutions (McGill, 1989). When the Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education began a tally of female presidents in 1975, 11% (16 in number) of all female academic presidents headed public institutions. By 1992 this number had increased to 167, or 48% of all female presidents. The American Council on Education has no historical data on

female presidents and, according to Judith G. Touchton, Deputy Director of the Office of Women in Education, there is a real need for one (J. G. Touchton, personal communication, ca. June 10, 1993).

History connects the past to the present and offers future possibilities to our culture (Butchart, 1986). This historical study begins to fill the gap in the body of literature concerning female presidents of institutions of higher education in the United States, by starting the history of female presidents in public institutions of higher education that will some day connect with present day female leaders. By understanding the experiences of previous leaders in the public sector, current presidents will be able to connect with past female leaders and, perhaps, to gain insight into current issues facing the public institutions in higher education in the United States.

Research Methodology

This research investigates the tenure of the earliest known female president of a public coeducational institution of higher education in the United States, Julia Ann Sears, asking the questions: Who was she, how was she selected, what did she achieve as a nineteenth century female administrator, and what were the influences on her life which brought her to Minnesota in the late nineteenth century?

In order to study the tenure of Sears at Mankato, an historical approach to research was utilized. Historical data were collected from archives at each site. These resided in university and local histories and with university offices of archives, presidents' offices, local historical societies, public libraries, university libraries, local newspaper archives, and family members. Copies of archival information were requested from sites which contained small amounts of material. Sites with large amounts of material were visited by the author. Biographical information was gathered through census reports, county histories, genealogies, birth and death records, city directories, college catalogues, and personal effects.

Six major sites were examined for information about Julia Sears:

1. East Dennis, Cape Cod, Massachusetts (birthplace)
2. Bridgewater State University (1859 graduate)
3. Mankato State University (president 1872-1873)
4. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
5. Peabody College, Vanderbilt University (Professor and Head of Mathematics Department, 1875 - 1907)
6. Fairhaven, Massachusetts (place of retirement and death)

Major research was conducted at Mankato State University in Mankato, Minnesota, and at the Minnesota Historical Society

in St. Paul, Minnesota, as it was in Minnesota that most archival information concerning Sears' tenure was found.

Primary sources included reports written by Sears, correspondence, minutes of the State Normal School Board, reports and speeches delivered by Sears, and interviews with Sears' relatives.

Secondary sources included archival information, as well as an extensive literature review to build a contextual framework. To examine Julia Sears at this time of history, it was important to look at her tenure within the contextual framework of nineteenth century feminism, women in higher education administration in the late nineteenth century, women's entry into professions in the nineteenth century, early state coordinating boards (in particular the relationship between the state and local boards in Minnesota), the history and nature of the normal school movement, the formative years of Mankato Normal School, United States Reconstruction, the history of the town of Mankato, and the history of mathematics education in the United States.

In analyzing the data, it was important to assess the documents for authenticity and for verity. Newspapers, for instance, were often biased and reports were slanted according to the value structure of the editor. Reports to governing boards might have exaggerated findings. Verifying

each piece of evidence through triangulation became important. Authenticity was checked by looking for plagiarisms, intentional and accidental errors, and forgeries. In the case of the Sears Rebellion, for instance, the writings of the state governing board, the students, and friends of Julia Sears were weighed against Sears' own report in order to arrive at as clear a picture of the insurrection as possible. A judgment was then made by the author based on the presented evidence.

Scope and Limitations

The study focused on the tenure of Julia Ann Sears as president of Mankato Normal School in Mankato, Minnesota from 1872 to 1873, including the challenges she faced as a pioneer in a female presidency of the nineteenth century. A brief study of her early life was presented as it related to the influences which may have had implications on her tenure as an administrator. Sears' life after 1873 was studied as it may have been influenced by her year at Mankato.

In early searches into Sears' life, it was found by the author that Sears is never known to have mentionned her year at Mankato to anyone in Tennessee throughout her 32 years there as a professor of mathematics at Peabody; was her experience in Mankato either so unfavorable or so insignificant to her that she chose to forget it? Several small mysteries surrounding her life were investigated

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

including her true year of birth (1839 and 1840 are both mentioned), her date of death (three dates are noted), and her teaching experiences in various schools in New England (previous researchers based their statements on a fallacious report). The larger mystery of why she was chosen to head Mankato, and what actually occured during her year as president was, the major focus of this study.

Terms used during the research are defined as follows:

higher education - postsecondary education or, as defined by M. Carey Thomas, "any education above the high-school grade...the education given in the technical and professional school as well as in the college" (Cross, 1965, p. 146),

public institution of higher education - an institution of postsecondary education which is supported financially and governed or coordinated primarily by city, state or federal government resources, including all public normal schools, teachers colleges, state colleges, and universities,

normal school - a school designed after the principles of Horace Mann's normal school for the purpose of teacher education to support the common schools,

president - the person who is appointed head of an institution of higher education and has been delegated leadership authority by the institution's governing board; alternative terms of principal and chancellor may apply,

femininist movement - a social movement containing both radicals and conservatives during the nineteenth century, aimed at obtaining suffrage and equal rights of entry for women into education and professions in the United States.

Organization of the Paper

The paper is organized into six sections: Presentation of the Topic, Sears in New England, Sears in Minnesota, Analysis of Mankato Tenure, Sears' Life as an Educator in the South, and a Summary. The presentation of the topic includes a justification for the research, a discussion of the organization, scope and limitations of the study and of the research methodology employed.

In the second section, the early life of Julia Ann Sears is briefly addressed: her family, her education in Massachusetts, and her teaching experiences in Massachusetts and Maine. Included in this chapter are discussions of the common schools and education in early nineteenth century New England, the development of normal schools, and the development of mathematics education pedagogy.

In the third section, Sears' years in Mankato, Minnesota, are discussed: her appointment, her tenure, the political, social and academic atmosphere of Mankato in the 1870s and her reappointment controversy. Included in this section are discussions of the westward movement of female teachers, the nineteenth century feminist movement, the

history of Mankato and Minnesota, the history of Mankato Normal School, and women in higher education administration in the nineteenth century.

The following section contains an analysis of Sears' tenure as an administrator within the context of the nineteenth century normal school and of Mankato of the 1870s, drawing inferences and making judgments based on the collected evidence. Included are discussions of her appointment, faculty, personal life, changes made to the school, management ability, and evaluation as a president.

The final major section on Sears' life contains a brief epilogue of her life as an educator in Tennessee, including her contributions to public education in the South, retirement, and death. Also included are discussions of the history of George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, Sears' fundraising efforts for Peabody, and Sears' family.

The summary of Sears' life, conclusions of the study and suggestions for future research are then presented.

Literature Search

Julia Sears, a 1859 graduate of Bridgewater Normal School in Massachusetts, came to Mankato Normal School in Minnesota in the year 1871 and was appointed head of the school in 1872. According to reports in local newspapers, Sears' year as head of Mankato Normal School was very successful for both the students and the school. Yet at the

end of the year, her contract was terminated. When confusion between the local resident director of the school and the state coordinating board later resulted in a controversy over her subsequent appointment as assistant principal, the students went on strike in support of Sears, causing what is known in the history of the school as the "Sears Rebellion" (Anderson, 1987). From the literature search, there appeared to be some controversy over the reason for the nonrenewal of her contract: Was she caught in a political battle over control of the school by the state board, was it because she was a feminist, was it simply because she was a woman, or did she fail to be reappointed because she lacked the skills to be an administrator? These and other questions were addressed in the tenure analysis found in Chapter 4.

A computer search on *Dissertation Abstracts International* and *America: History and Life* resulted in no mention of Julia Sears. Other references were searched including *Notable American Women* (James, E., James, J. and Boyer, 1971), *Dictionary of American Biography* (1958), *Famous First Facts* (Kane, 1981), and *The Book of Women's Firsts* (Read & Witlieb, 1992) with negative results. The Schlessinger Library at Radcliffe was also contacted concerning Julia Sears, as well as the National Archives in Washington, DC, with negative results.

In an autobiographical article, written for *Peabody Alumni News* in October 1915, Julia Sears told of her early

education in Massachusetts and of her very early ambitions to be a teacher. She wrote of the influence of the president of Bridgewater on her career as a teacher and his interest in astronomy, which also became hers. She also mentioned her studies in mathematics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and her "line-a-day book" [diary] (Sears, J. A., 1915). Through this article, her philosophy of life and of education can be understood; her statements give an insight into her character. However, no mention is made of specific teaching experiences (nor of Mankato) prior to her appointment to Peabody Normal College in 1875.

Biobase was searched and was found to contain only one mention of Sears, an article by A. L. Crabb in 1968. The article, entitled "A Most Remarkable Woman," was written for the *Peabody Journal of Education*. Crabb related the story of Julia Sears' tenure at Mankato, which was unknown to anyone at Peabody until 10 years after her death. However Crabb used great poetic license in telling his story and several inaccuracies in the article were found by Anderson (1987) and by this author.

A master's thesis by Debra L. Anderson (1987) entitled *Mankato Normal School: The Foundation Years, 1868-1880* contains a chapter on Sears' administration, as well as an early photograph. The majority of the material in Chapter 5, "Julia A. Sears Administration, 1872-1873," focuses on the state governing board and the political and

financial problems of normal schools in Minnesota. Anderson's final statements are most important: "The truth about the Sears Rebellion is still not completely known for two reasons. First, the evidence currently available, such as newspaper accounts, is extremely biased and conflicting. Second, no valuable primary sources such as Sears' diary or correspondence have been found" (p. 135).

A master's thesis by Robert Riege in 1954, *The development of Mankato Normal School from 1870-1876*, states that Sears was appointed as First Assistant Teacher at Mankato in August 1871 and promoted to Principal of Mankato Normal School in August 1872 at a salary of $1,500 (Riege, 1954, pp. 23-24). According to Riege, "the subordination of Miss Julia A. Sears [in 1873] led to administrative difficulties that created a turmoil in Mankato and at the Normal School itself" (Riege, 1954, pp. 24-25). According to Riege, the board decided that neither party in the dispute was wrong, that Sears would not be reinstated but would be paid $150 for her trouble and expense (Riege, 1954).

Further discussion of the Sears Rebellion is found in *A history of Blue Earth County* by Thomas Hughes (1909). According to Hughes, thirty-six students seceded from the school, protesting the action of the board in turning down her reappointment "simply because she was a woman" (p. 178). Thirty students were expelled from the school as a result of this insurrection. The citizens of Mankato then became

involved in the dispute, taking the side of the students and Sears.

Sears was identified by Tisinger (1991) as the first female president of a public institution of higher education in the United States; as such, she is the start of the history of female presidents at public institutions. It was determined by this author that Sears' brief, yet tumultuous, tenure at Mankato would make an interesting and important study of a nineteenth century leader in the history of women in higher education administration as it is on this frail beginning in Minnesota in 1872 that the history of female presidents in the public sector will be built.

SEARS IN NEW ENGLAND

Female Education in the United States Before 1840

The first half of the nineteenth century was significant in the history of education for females in the United States for it was during this period that girls were included in primary education in the public schools on a regular basis. This was the beginning of the climb upwards to higher education for women.

Girls attended school with boys in Ipswich, England as early as 1769, yet the general opinion of education for females in England was that "a publick education... undomesticates a woman" (Newcomer, 1959; Bennett, 1795/1971, p. 110). According to Bennett in 1795, English women were treated "by the bulk of men, as fit for little else but some domestick drudgeries, or some indelicate enjoyments" (Bennett, 1795/1971, p. 17). Opinions in the United States seem to have been similar. In New England, females were excluded from town schools until after the Revolutionary War, but were taught at home to read (Goodsell, 1931/1970; Morgan, 1966).

By 1789 Boston city schools admitted girls from April to October only (Apollonio, 1923). At the beginning of the

nineteenth century, it was commonly believed that education for women was a means of making women "accountable for the character of the next generation" (Sigourney, 1837, pp. 15-16). This is the period of female education referred to in the literature as Republican Motherhood (Graham, 1978).

Educators and proponents of female education soon began to look beyond primary education for girls. In 1819, Emma Willard presented a rationale for female education to New York's Governor Clinton to urge legislators to fund schools for higher education of women with curricula like those of the men's colleges (Woloch, 1992). Two years later, she established the Troy Female Seminary in New York. Between 1820 and 1850, 104 private schools for young ladies were established (Newcomer, 1959).

In 1817 Boston had 164 private schools; 135 of these were taught by women. Of the 4,132 students in these schools, 2,218 were girls. The following year a law provided schools for children aged four to seven. This was the beginning of primary schools in Boston (Littlefield, 1904). In 1828 "girls were admitted to the grammar schools [of Boston] on equal terms with the boys" (Apollonio, 1923, p. 19).

In 1824 the first public high school for girls was opened in Worcester, Massachusetts. Two years later, public high schools for girls opened in Boston and New York City (Newcomer, 1959). But these institutions were rare.

Education opportunities for girls were increasing, but the purpose of education for girls remained for the sake of the family. Writers and educators of the era continued to promote the idea of Republican Motherhood. Catharine Beecher, in her essay on female education (1835), stated that girls should be educated in order to fulfill domestic duties. Other writers of the era, such as Emily Davies and Lydia Sigourney agreed. Benjamin Rush justified the education of females by "its social utility" (Cott, 1977, p. 105). Others railed against the time occupied in study, stating that study caused good housewifery, as an accomplishment, to be neglected (Titcomb, 1858).

Seminaries for women continued to be organized. Catharine Beecher's Hartford Seminary for women was opened in Connecticut in 1832. Mary Lyons opened Mt. Holyoke Seminary for women in Massachusetts in 1837 adding to the list of educational opportunities for women in the East. Beecher had by this time moved to Ohio to open the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati (Beecher, 1874). These were some of the many seminaries open to women where curricula were less intense than at male-dominated colleges and more oriented toward producing good wives and mothers. Many women attended seminaries such as Beecher's, and quite a few became teachers.

Co-education was not attempted for older students until Bradford Academy in Massachusetts opened in 1804.

Bradford Academy was the first incorporated institution in the country to open as co-educational, but by 1836 Bradford had limited its enrollment to females (Palmer, 1889). It was not until 1835 that women were admitted to higher education when Oberlin College opened in Ohio (Rudolph, 1989). Four women enrolled at Oberlin in 1837, three of whom graduated with an AB degree four years later (Newcomer, 1959). Defenders of co-education asked, "Why train a girl specifically to be a wife and mother, when no great need is felt for training a boy to be a husband and father?" (Palmer, 1889, p. 114). This was a question that would be debated for many years.

By 1840 women's literacy in New England had increased 100 percent since 1780 (Cott, 1977). Education had become acceptable for girls, as long as they intended to use their education to become better wives and mothers.

Sears is Born, 1839

Family History

This was the status of education in New England when, on March 19, 1839, Deborah Chipman Hopkins Sears gave birth to her sixth daughter, Julia Ann, in East Dennis, Cape Cod, Massachusetts (see Appendix 1 for birth year verification) (May, S.,1890; Dennis, n.d., p. 195). She was welcomed by her father, Constant, and four sisters: Thankful Snow (age 13), Emily (age 10), Sarah R. (age 5), and Betsey Thomas (age 2). A fifth sister, Mary Ann, had died in infancy in 1832.

Sears was born in the house of her great-great grandfather, Captain John Sears, Gentleman (an appellation given to denote the high respect with which he was held by the villagers). Captain John Sears, Gentleman, had been important in the village of East Dennis, and his estate was very large (Deyo, 1890). The house, located near the corner of what is today Airline Road and Route 6A, was close to the border between East Dennis and West Brewster. It was in this house that Sears' father, Constant Sears, was born in 1802 and lived until 1861.

Sears descended from a long line of early New England settlers and traced her heritage to Richard Sears (Sares), known as Richard the Pilgrim, who arrived in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, about 1630 with "the last of the Leyden Congregational, ten years after the first landing at Plymouth" (Yarmouth, 1889, p. 24; Savage, 1965). Richard Sears settled in Sesuit, now known as East Dennis. He is known to have paid taxes in 1633 and appears on the 1643 Able to Bear Arms List (Savage, 1965; Strattan, 1986). Whether Richard Sears originally came from the Channel Islands or from England is a controversy that has never been settled (May, S., 1890).

This branch of the Sears family, known as the Sears of Yarmouth, included Edmund Sears, a Unitarian clergyman who in 1849 wrote the Christmas hymn, "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear," and Reverend Barnas Sears, a well-known New England

educator of the nineteenth century, who followed Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1850 (Federal Writer's Project, 1937; Sears, L. R., 1992; Barnard, 1851; Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). Barnas Sears was also the first Peabody agent when the Peabody Education Foundation was founded in 1867 (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). The Sears of Yarmouth were known for their strong religious beliefs and support of education (May, S., 1890).

Another relative, Captain John Sears (cousin of Sears' grandfather, Elisha Sears), built "the first vat on Cape Cod for making salt by solar evaporation of sea water" (Fed. Writer's Project, 1937, p. 496) in the late eighteenth century. Windmills were used to fill the shallow vats with sea water and removable roofs covered the vats to keep out the rain (Brewster, 1976). The vat, measuring 100 feet in diameter and ten feet in height was known to the locals as "Sears' Folly," but in time, this simple process of desalination built up a two million dollar salt manufacturing business for the salt manufacturers on the Cape from Provincetown to Woods Hole (Fed. Writer's Project, 1937; Quinn, 1993).

There were many sea captains in the Sears family. Among them was Captain J. Henry Sears, who founded the first golfcourse in Brewster and served as president of the Cape Cod Pilgrim Memorial Association, which was responsible for promoting the construction of the

Provincetown Monument, built to honor the Pilgrims (Brewster, 1976).

Sears' parents had been married since 1824. Her mother, Deborah Chipman Hopkins, was the daughter of John and Abigail (Nabby) Chase Hopkins of Brewster. Deborah, born on April 19, 1801, in Yarmouth, was the fourth of five daughters (no sons) born to John and Abigail (Brownson, Held & Norton, n.d.; Held, n.d.). Nothing is known about Deborah's life or education.

Sears' father, Constant, was the second son of Elisha and Thankful (Snow) Sears, and brother to Elisha, Ephraim, Thomas, and Bethia. Thomas was lost at sea in 1834, Elisha, died at the age of 42, three months before Julia Sears' birth, and it is probable that Ephraim also died early as nothing beyond the date of his birth is mentioned in the genealogies of the family (Sears, L. R., 1992; May, S., 1890). Constant had been a sea captain and shipmaster before retiring to become a cranberry farmer and salt manufacturer (May, S. 1890; Foster, 1994). At times, Constant also taught school (May, 1890). "He was esteemed by all who knew him as a kind and upright citizen" (May, S., 1890, p. 240), though his family remembers him as a stern man who did not smile very often (E. T. Foster, personal communication, July 6, 1994). Sears' family was perhaps never rich in possessions, but was rich in history and in a strong sense of family togetherness. When Sears came into the world in 1839 she was

surrounded by four sisters, four maternal aunts and one paternal aunt--no brothers, and no uncles. It was a society that would breed independence and self-reliance in her.

Village Life

Dennis is located between Yarmouth and Brewster, but was originally part of Yarmouth. When Yarmouth was divided in 1794 into the East Precinct (Dennis) and Yarmouth, the border inhabitants were given the choice of which town they would join. The town line was then established according to how property owners on the border decided. Dennis later divided into five districts (East Dennis, West Dennis, Dennisport, South Dennis, and Dennis) which extend from Quivet Creek on its western border with Yarmouth to West Brewster, on its eastern border. Traveling through Dennis in 1849, Thoreau described the area as barren, desolate and covered with poverty-grass (Thoreau, 1865; Wheelwright, 1971). Inhabitants settled along the main road (now Route 6A) and on Sesuet and Quivet Necks (Deyo, 1890). It was on the eastern border of East Dennis that Sears' home was located.

The people of East Dennis included salt manufacturers, farmers, sea captains, and ship builders. Salt was used on Cape Cod for seasoning of food, preservation of fish, and protection of furs during shipment to foreign ports (Quinn, 1993). Dennis had the most salt manufacturing establishments

on the Cape--114 establishments producing 52,500 bushels annually (Quinn, 1993). Constant Sears' salt works were located with his brother, Elisha's, works on Quivet Neck (Deyo, 1890). The saltworks business on the Cape reached its zenith in 1837 and began to decline in the 1840s.

Between 1840 and 1849 Constant commanded the schooner, "David Porter," owned by Captain Dean Sears, which ran a packet trade from East Dennis to Boston between 1833 and 1874 (Deyo, 1890; Clark, 1993). Often his salt was sent to Boston on board this schooner (Quinn, 1993). A gale in October of 1841 damaged saltworks all along the Cape; the vats that were injured in the storm were not rebuilt. The gale of 1841 also took the lives of 20 East Dennis men out on ships, including two Searses, and depressed the economy of Cape Cod, which was already weakened by the bank panic of 1837 (Clark, 1993). The 1840s were lean years for the shipping business (Kittredge, 1935). A more severe gale in September 1858 demolished more saltworks, contributing to the demise of the business, until finally ending when the works in Yarmouth closed in 1888 (Quinn, 1993).

Every town along the Cape was full of sea captains. In neighboring Brewster, there were 50 sea captains living in 1850 (Sears, J. H., 1906). There were also many sea captains in East Dennis. The harbor at East Dennis "was the home port of a fleet of more than a score of vessels" (Clark, 1993, p. 12; Hay, 1976). Some ships freighted salt, manufactured in

East Dennis. Others began to ship food to the gold fields in California, traveling from the Cape to New York, around Cape Horn to San Francisco (Sears, A., 1868; Clark, 1993). The well-known Shiverick shipbuilding yard was located along Sesuit Creek between Sesuit and Quivet Necks. It was here that the "David Porter," Constant Sears' ship, was built. The shipbuilding yard made East Dennis "a bustling, noisy place" (Clark, 1993, p. 12).

Dennis also included fishermen, as did so many villages on the Cape. Fish were dried and salted with locally made salt, then shipped up and down the East Coast (Quinn, 1993). The villages in the area included herring runs, used by freshwater herring (alewives) in the spring, which traveled from Cape Cod Bay to Paine's Creek, moving inland to spawn in the ponds (Hay, 1976). Herring were used as food and as fertilizer in the fields (Quinn, 1993). The land in East Dennis was known for its fertility. The village contained a post office where mail was delivered daily, two large general stores, and a blacksmith shop (Clark, 1993). Ice harvesting from the ponds was also an important business in the area (Brewster, 1976).

This community of sea captains, fishermen, shipbuilders, and salt manufacturers, then, was the community of Sears' youth in the 1840s and 1850s. Because so many of the male members of the community were sea captains and

were away from home for long periods of time, these women of Cape Cod, more than women elsewhere, acquired independence and controlled the daily life of the children and homes (Woody, 1929).

In summary, the Sears families of East Dennis had a history of seafaring men, ship builders, salt manufacturers, and farmers. They were religious, very supportive of education, and well respected by the community (May, S., 1890). Looking at a map of East Dennis in the late 1800s, one can see a preponderance of Sears families. Quivet Cemetery in East Dennis is full of Sears gravestones, as is the ancient Sears Cemetery. Other early names of Dennis include Nickerson, Thatcher, Snow, Hall, Crowell, Eldridge, and Howe, and all intermarried through the generations. Julia Sears grew up surrounded by these families who were connected to her, creating a community full of cousins (May, S., 1890). It was a safe and insular community which always had a conduit to the outside world through its ships and its sea captains as they plied their trade around the world.

Home Life

Sears' home consisted of a large saltbox house, with an extension, and several outbuildings, including a barn (Yarmouth, 1889). Built in 1711, it was larger than typical houses on Cape Cod. J. W. Barber gave his impression of Cape Cod houses in 1837 thus:

> These have one story, and four rooms on the lower floor; and are covered on the sides as well as the roofs with pine shingles, eighteen inches in length. The chimney is in the middle immediately behind the front door, and on each side of the door are two windows. The roof is straight; under it are two chambers; and there are two larger and two smaller windows in the gable end...The barns are usually neat, but always small. (Quinn, 1993, p. 9)

However Sears' home was a two-story house. There were "twenty acres of tillage and pasturing land, about four tons of English and fresh meadows adjoining the premises, two thousand feet of saltworks, and several small lots of woodland" (Quinn, 1993). This description was provided by Constant Sears in 1839 in an advertisement for the sale of his property. It is supposed that the house, at least, was not sold as Sears continued to live in it until 1861. [The house was demolished about 1910 (H. Kelley, personal communication, September 15, 1994).]

To a Cape Codder, "clean living and hard work were usually rewarded with long life" (Quinn, 1993, p. 13). Besides making clothes, candles, and performing other housekeeping and child-rearing tasks, women of this community were expected to assist at the saltworks or in the cranberry bogs. Covering the salt vats to keep out the rain was a job for everyone in the community. "If a summer shower threatened, the entire town, men, women and children, joined together to preserve the evaporation already completed"

(Quinn, 1993, p. 19). With her five sisters (the youngest, Amanda, was born in 1841), Sears probably assisted their mother at home as well as their father at the saltworks. "Sewing, spinning, weaving, cooking and sometimes tending the saltworks, were all part of a daughter's everyday life" (Quinn, 1993, p. 96). A familiar item in every household was the "box of shells" that provided ready toys for the children (Sears, J. H., 1906).

The diet of villagers consisted mainly of fish and potatoes (Hay, 1976). Meals at home usually consisted of tea or coffee, brown bread and butter, and salt or fresh fish for breakfast. The evening supper was basically the same meal as breakfast, with the addition of cheese. A noontime dinner would include one or two of the following: roots and herbs (every house had its own root cellar), salted beef or pork or fowl in the autumn and winter, or fresh or salt fish or shellfish, Indian pudding, or pork and beans (Quinn, 1993). This, then, was the diet on which Sears grew into a young woman. She never ate very much, according to her family, and so was very slender (E. Foster, personal interview, September 15, 1994).

Religious Training

In 1721 a meetinghouse was built in Dennis, and the inhabitants of East, West and South Dennis attended this church. This meetinghouse continued until the tenure of its minister, Daniel M. Stearns from 1826-1838. Stearns "was of

Unitarian proclivities" (Yarmouth, 1890, p. 43), which split the church. The more orthodox formed a new church. There were, then, two churches: Unitarian and "orthodox." In time, Reformed Methodists, Universalists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Episcopalians were represented in Dennis. During Sears' youth, Dennis had three permanent meeting houses, one temporary meeting house, and a school house, all of which were used for religious purposes. Eventually the Universalists were absorbed by the Unitarians and the Methodists came back together, then the Unitarians died out, and the rest of the churches joined together to form the Dennis Union Religious Society and the Union Church of Christ of Dennis. So Sears' church in East Dennis had a history of Unitarians, Universalists, Episcopalians, and Methodists. The Sears family through the generations had always been religious, leaning toward Methodist and Baptist denominations (May S., 1890). During the last part of Sears' life, she was active in a Unitarian church.

Cape Codders "carried on their lives with the strictest moral standards" (Quinn, 1993, p. 13). They were known for their propriety, industry and frugality (Hay, 1976). Each August, the Constant Sears family would retire to its cabin at the Yarmouth campgrounds for Methodist camp meetings with visiting ministers. The girls looked forward to these month-long meetings (Sears, A., 1868). It was perhaps this religious training that gave Julia a strong

feeling of Christianity and righteousness, seen throughout her life.

Local Education

Common School, 1844-1854

Education had always been important to the inhabitants of Cape Cod. As early as 1647, reading and writing was required by Massachusetts School Law (Cubberley, 1919). Dame Schools were followed by Moving Schools (for pupils who had completed the Dame School), then district schools (the forerunner of common schools), which were prevalent from the Revolutionary War to about 1840. In the 1830s one third of children in the United States ages 5 to 19 were attending some sort of school. Schools existing in the early nineteenth century included private, academies, colleges, charity schools, and district schools (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). The running of the district schools was supported by local taxation or the state and governed by a "prudential committee-man elected by the people of his district" (East Dennis, 1934, p. 8; Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982).

In Massachusetts in 1826, 80% of children up to the age of 19 were listed on school registers in towns under a population of 2,500. By 1835, 80,000 common schools were in operation throughout the 24 states of the nation; by 1840 about 90% of white adults were literate (Taylor, 1835; Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982).

As early as 1693, Yarmouth (which at the time included Dennis) organized a common school system (Howes, 1934). In 1769 a school house was built in Dennis. It was succeeded by another built in 1820. In 1836 the town raised $850 for the schools and new buildings were erected as the old ones "became unsuitable" (Deyo, 1890, p. 521). Massachusetts was one of the earliest states to have well built frame schools, which were built from plans supplied by the county superintendent of schools (Gulliford, 1984). From 1837 to 1848, Massachusetts schools experienced sweeping reforms under Horace Mann, Secretary of the Board of Education. The 3,000 district schoolhouses in the state were repaired, school taxes increased, and blackboards were introduced. Compulsory school attendance became law in Massachusetts in 1852 (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). Sears attended school in East Dennis from 1844 to 1854, so experienced these reforms as they occurred.

Each school in Massachusetts had two teachers: "a woman--frequently a girl of seventeen or eighteen--taught the summer term of about four months, at an average salary of $5.38 per month and board; a man--frequently a youth under twenty--usually taught...the winter term of ten or twelve weeks, at an average salary of $15.44 per month and board" (Norton, 1926, p. xliii). By 1837, more than 60% of the common school teachers in Massachusetts were women. Women could teach both in the summer and winter (unlike

the men who could make more money in the fields in the summer months), increasing the stability of the state's district school and, because women were paid less than men, decreasing the required salary budget (Taylor, 1835; Herbst, 1989). Massachusetts was "a leader in the campaign to make teaching a stable occupation" (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). By 1845 the Massachusetts state teachers' association was formed (Barnard, 1851).

Since it was expected that children would attend school from the age of 5 until the age of 15, it is surmised that Sears attended a local school from 1844 to 1854. To Sears, school was always the central interest in her life. As a child she played school with neighboring children, often pretending to be the teacher (Sears, J. A., 1915). By the year of Sears' birth, 1839, there were several schools in Dennis. It is unknown which one she attended as her name does not appear in any school reports for the period 1844 to 1854, which reported only perfect attendance and tardiness by its pupils, and there are no family memories to indicate which school she attended. However, it is probable that she attended the common school in East Dennis, which was located on the corner of Central Street and School Street (of which Airline Road is an extension), only a short distance from her home.

A description of the East Dennis school in about 1859 provides a view of the early schooling Sears must have experienced.

> The building consisted of one small room with a raised platform in front for the teacher's desk, and at the opposite end of the room, double desks for the pupils, with two persons at each desk and a seating capacity of about 24. A stove occupied the centre of the room, leaving a small space in front near the platform for classes in recitation. (East Dennis, 1934, p. 27)

Rewards for excellent classwork and good conduct included colored pictures on cardboard and for bad behavior, slaps on the hand by a wooden ruler or the task of untying knots in a string (East Dennis, 1934).

Massachusetts School Law required certain subjects to be taught in the schools, beginning with reading and writing in 1657. By the time Sears' education began in 1844, the following subjects were required: reading, writing, orthography, good behavior, the English language and grammar, arithmetic and geography; history, while introduced as a subject of study between 1822 and 1832, was not required until 1857 (Cubberley, 1919). Some of the textbooks used in Dennis schools included John Dods *A Synopsis of English Grammar* (1840) and Underhill's *New Table-book-Arithmatical Primer* (1854).

East Dennis Academy, 1854-58

By the 1860s, any town in Massachusetts with a population of over 500 was required by statute to maintain a public high school. The first high school on the Cape was

established in Chatham in 1858, and the second at Provincetown in 1860. Since Dennis did not start a high school until 1868, it is most likely that Sears attended the East Dennis Academy between 1854 and 1858, although she refers to this phase of her schooling as "high school" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). The academy "met the desire for a more general education in both the cultural and scientific courses" (East Dennis, 1934, p. 9). The East Dennis Academy, considered the "best in the county" (East Dennis, 1934, p. 9), was a private institution, supported by tuition. Teachers were college graduates; students came from the wealthier families and often went on to college (East Dennis, 1934). "By 1860 the Cape had 35 academies and private schools" (East Dennis, 1934, p. 15), but the academies declined with the establishment of high schools.

In the academy, Sears began to discriminate between good and bad teaching. She realized that the teachers she admired the most had been trained to be teachers. East Dennis was "noted for the number of young women who went out as teachers into the surrounding towns; that spirit seemed to pervade the place like an atmosphere" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). The Sears family contributed quite a few teachers to the Dennis schools including Lydia Sears, Julia (Long) Sears, Laura H. Sears, and Stephen Sears. Philip Sears headed East Dennis Academy for a number of years. And so Julia Ann Sears also decided to be trained as a teacher.

Teacher Training in America

Massachusetts Normal Schools

The interest in teacher training in the United States emanated from several different sources. Europe had been developing teacher education for years, since the first training class for teachers was organized by Father Demia in a small school in Lyons, France in 1672 (Cubberley, 1919).

The first real normal school was founded in Rheims, France in 1685 "to educate and train teachers for the schools of the order [Abbe' de la Salle] founded...to give free religious primary education to the children of the working classes of France" (Cubberley, 1919, p. 285). An institute for teacher training followed in Halle, Prussia, in 1704, established by Franke, who believed that "children could not be well taught without good teachers, and that but few good teachers could be found unless they were regularly trained by the profession" (Stowe, 1839, p. 123). Prussia established its first normal school for the training of teachers of elementary or people's schools in 1819 (Cubberley, 1919). But the first seminary course for female teachers in Prussia was not established until 1840 (Barnard, 1851). Salisbury Diocesan Institute for the Training of Schoolmistresses, established in 1841, was England's first course for female teachers (Barnard, 1851)

In the United States, Ben Franklin's Academy was established in Philadelphia in 1756 to train teachers

(Cubberley, 1919). School journals began to appear in the United States in the 1820s and 1830s, and in 1823 a tuition school for the training of teachers was opened at Concord, Vermont by Reverend Samuel R. Hall. This school lasted seventeen years (Cubberley, 1919).

In 1830 the American Institute of Instruction was founded with the assistance of James G. Carter in Massachusetts, giving direction to national school reform (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982; Barnard, 1851). Membership (all male) in the A.I.I. was primarily from New England, with 180 of its 250 members from Massachusetts. Most were college graduates and the majority taught in academies (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). Carter (known as the "Father of the Massachusetts School System and of Normal Schools") published numerous newspaper articles concerning the need for an institute for teacher training, drawing public attention to the normal school movement in New England. Carter believed teaching to be a science favoring inductive teaching (Barnard, 1851; Thurston & Roe, 1957). In 1827 he had opened an institute for teacher training at Lancaster, Massachusetts, petitioning the state legislature for aid (Cubberley, 1919; Barnard, 1851; Thurston & Roe, 1957). The first professional book for teachers in English, Samuel R. Hall's *Lectures on schoolkeeping*, was issued in America in 1829. By 1847 David Page's *Theory and practice of teaching* had also appeared (Cubberley, 1919).

American educators travelled to Prussia and France to see first hand the normal school systems heralded as the best. By 1831, Victor Cousin's report on Prussian education to the French government along with Calvin Stowe's report several years later to Ohio legislators, provided impetus to educators and legislators alike, toward the funding of full-scale teacher education in America (Barnard, 1851; Boyden, 1933). By then, thirty new normal schools had been established in France (within a two year period), and by 1835, England had founded its first training college for teachers (Cubberley, 1919).

The campaign to bring normal schools to America began to gather speed. In 1835 Reverend Charles Brooks of Hingham, Massachusetts began his campaign for normal schools in America (Boyden, 1933). At the same time, Horace Mann, executive secretary of the newly established State Board of Education in Massachusetts, pushed for common schools to be "free, financed by local and state government, controlled by lay boards of education, mixing all social groups under one roof, and offering education of such quality that no parent would desire private schooling" (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982, p. 30; Boyden, 1933; Barnard, 1851). As J. Orville Taylor stated in 1835, "The two great things which are wanting in this country, are, competent teachers, and a disposition on the part of parents to pay such teachers a suitable compensation" (Taylor, 1835, p. 36).

To many educators, quality teaching meant trained teachers. Normal schools would become "the lever by which Horace Mann pried up the whole school system of Massachusetts" (Bridgewater, 1915a, p. 16). While waiting for normal schools to catch on, Henry Barnard and Emma Willard formed teachers' institutes in Connecticut in 1839 (Cubberley, 1919; Spring, 1994). These were short sessions for teachers, held during school holidays and provided some training until normal schools could be established.

On April 19, 1838, Edmund Dwight, a Boston merchant and member of the State Board of Education, promised a matching gift of $10,000 to the State of Massachusetts for "qualifying teachers for our common schools" (Woody, 1929, p. 473; Boyden, 1933; Thurston & Roe, 1957). In response, the Massachusetts legislature agreed to set up three normal schools for teacher training, as a three-year experiment (Norton, 1926).

In 1839 Lexington State Normal School was established to serve northeastern Massachusetts (Norton, 1926). Lexington, restricted to women students, opened with one instructor and three students (Woody, 1929, Spring, 1994; Barnard, 1851, Cubberley, 1919). Its principal was Cyrus Pierce (Herbst, 1989; Norton, 1926). Barre Normal School, established as a coeducational school in September of the same year, was headed by Reverend Samuel S. Newman and served central Massachusetts (Herbst, 1989).

Bridgewater Normal School, a coeducational school, served the southeastern part of the state, of which Cape Cod was part (Norton, 1926; Barnard, 1851). Bridgewater began as the Plymouth County School for teachers on September 9, 1840, with 28 pupils and Col. Nicholas Tillinghast as principal (Herbst, 1989; Barnard, 1851; Martin, 1915; Woody, 1929; Spring, 1994; Thurston & Roe, 1957). Tillinghast wanted the course to last four years to "lay a *foundation* on which to build an education" (Barnard, 1851, p. 80). But two terms were set initially, this changing after 1846 to three successive terms of 14 weeks each. Bridgewater had the state's highest male enrollments, with 42% in the 1840s, but maintained a majority of female students (Clifford, 1989b). In 1846, Bridgewater dedicated the first normal school building in America (Boyden, 1933; Barnard, 1929; Cubberley, 1919). By 1856, the four Massachusetts normal schools (Salem joined the three original schools in 1854) had a student population of 332, of which 290 were females (Spring, 1994).

Normal school activity in the United States and Canada during the early years of normal schools included the schools listed in Table 1. The normal school movement was furthered by the "incomplete success of the academy and seminary as teacher training institutions" (Woody, 1929, p. 446). By 1860, normal schools were also established in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Illinois, and Minnesota (Cubberley, 1919). Not all normal schools were public; some were privately funded.

Some of the public schools were city-supported rather than state-supported, and the funding of state-supported schools varied from state. For instance, some state schools were

Table 1

Normal Schools in the United States and Canada in the Early Years

Massachusetts:	Lexington (1839) Barre (1839) Bridgewater (1840)
New York:	Albany (1845)
Canada:	Toronto, Upper Canada (1846) Nova Scotia-St.John's, New Brunswick (1848)
Pennsylvania:	Philadelphia (1848)
Michigan:	Ypsilanti (1850)

Note. From Normal schools and other institutions, agencies, and means designed for the professional education of teachers. Pt. 1: United States and British Provinces (p. 9) by Henry Barnard, 1851, Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany & Company.

supported mainly by tuition while others were tuition-free (Mankato Weekly Review [MWRv], 24 February 1874, p. 3). Most were governed by a state governing board overseeing all the normal schools, with local governing boards, which governed each school seeing to the day-by-day operations. This governance structure of state-supported institutions of higher education remains today.

In addition to the normal schools, Massachusetts also supported teacher institutes (one to four weeks in length); in 1850 twelve different institutes were held (Barnard,

1851). Teacher associations included county associations of teachers (semi-annual meetings of at least two days each), a state teacher's association (annual meeting lasting two days), and the American Institute of Instruction (meeting five to six days in August) (Barnard, 1851).

Calvin Stowe had recommended in 1839 that pupils entering the normal schools be at least 16 years old. The course of the schools was to last three terms of 14 weeks each (this was required by Massachusetts Legislature in 1846), with the pupils divided into three classes (Boyden, 1933; Barnard, 1851). The term "normal" is derived through French from the Latin noun, "norma," meaning a model, or pattern. It was, therefore, considered essential that a school for teacher training contain a model school where teachers could practice "the science of education and the art of teaching" (Barnard, 1851, p. 124). The senior classes were instructors in the model school, which would be run like a common school, under "immediate instruction" of their professor (Stowe, 1839, p. 124).

Normal school studies consisted of a thorough review of common school subjects plus pedagogy "with a concern for moral character overriding all" (Spring, 1994, p. 108). Pedagogical courses included: advanced studies; physical, mental and moral development of children; science and art of teaching; art of school government; and practice in teaching

and governing a "model or experimental school" (Norton, 1926, p. xviii).

Books were furnished by the school, but each student needed a dictionary and an atlas of their own. For the most part, schoolbooks in the nineteenth century were written by "printers, journalists, teachers, ministers, and future lawyers earning their way through college" (Elson, 1964, p. vii). Books used in the normal schools in Massachusetts at this time included: Worcester's *Universal English Dictionary* (1846), Worcester's *Fourth Book* (possibly *Elements of History*), Jacob Abbott's *Teacher*, Russell's *First Lessons*, *Testament*, Grund's *Geometry*, Warren Colburn's *Sequel and Algebra*, Francis Wayland's *Moral Science* and *Intellectual Philosophy*, Combe's *Constitution of Man*, Combe's *Physiology*, Brigham's *Mental Excitement*, Smellie's *Natural History*, J. L. Comstock's *Introduction to Botany* (1832; in its 33rd edition by 1856), John Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers of Man* (1830), Combe's *Moral Philosophy*, Story's *Constitution of the United States*, Samuel P. Newman's *Practical System of Rhetoric* (1834), Hayward's *Physiology*, Jeremiah Day's *Elements of Algebra* (1814; in its 67th edition by 1850), and Johnson's *Scientific Class-Book* (Woody, 1929; Carpenter, 1963).

Women students at Lexington Normal School were subjected to readings of Mrs. Sigourney's *Letters to Young Ladies* (1837), and it is possible that the female students at

Bridgewater Normal School were also familiar with Mrs. Sigourney's writings (Norton, 1926). Sigourney believed that females were *naturally* teachers, but that the domestic sphere was the natural place for women to teach. As she states in her *Letters* (1837), "Gird her with the whole armour of education and of piety--and see if she be not faithful to her children, to her country, and to her God" (Sigourney, 1837, p. 16). According to Mrs. Sigourney, women could pursue intellectual matters and still keep up with domestic duties. So while females were attending normal schools to be trained as teachers in the common schools, they were there receiving the old message of Republican Motherhood, that woman's place was ultimately in the home with a husband and children.

Sears at Bridgewater Normal School, 1858-1860

By the time Sears left East Dennis for Bridgewater, three of her older sisters, Thankful, Sarah and Emily, had already married, and Sears was "Aunt Julia" to four nieces and nephews, the beginning of a lifetime of devotion to her sisters' families. Only her sisters, Betsey and Amanda, remained at home with her parents. Following Emily's marriage in August of 1858, Sears moved to Bridgewater, Masssachusetts to begin her teacher training (May, S. 1890; Bridgewater, 1915b). By then, the railroad was complete between Sandwich and Boston. It is possible that Sears traveled by train from Sandwich to Bridgewater, but more likely that she traveled by packet boat to Boston and then by

train to Bridgewater from there, as Cape Codders generally preferred the packets to land travel (Quinn, 1993).

When Bridgewater opened, females were required to be 16 and males were required to be 17 years old. All entering students were required to be free from any disease or infirmity. Pupils underwent an exam in order to prove well versed in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography and arithmetic, and they were required to furnish evidence of good intellectual capacity and high moral character and principles (Barnard, 1851). Entering pupils also had to declare their intent to become school teachers; if the latter was not declared, then the pupil was charged tuition of $10 per term (Barnard, 1851; Bridgewater, 1862).

Sears was admitted to Bridgewater Normal School on September 15, 1858, at the age of 19 (Bridgewater, 1915b). There were 48 students in her class, 25 of whom were female. Average attendance for the whole school in the 1850s was 74 (Bridgewater, 1915b). In 1859 43% of all normal school students came from farm families, 28.5% from artisan backgrounds, 12% from professionals and 1.7% from unskilled laborers, creating a "slight middle and upper class bias" (Rury, 1989, p. 22). Tuition was free, but students paid a nominal fee per term for incidentals. As most students, Sears probably boarded with a private family (Bridgewater, 1862).

The Fall term lasted 14 weeks with a week's vacation at mid-term. The spring term then began March 16, 1859, and lasted another 14 weeks (Bridgewater, 1862; Bridgewater, 1915b). Exams were administered at the end of each term in reading, writing, spelling, defining, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and English grammar (Bridgewater, 1862).

Sears' teachers included Albert G. Boyden, Eliza B. Woodward, Elizabeth Crafts, Warren T. Copeland, E. Ripley Blanchard, and Charles F. Dexter (Bridgewater, 1915b). The principal of Bridgewater, during Sears' years as a student, was Marshall Conant, who had succeeded Tillinghast in 1853 (Martin, 1915; Boyden, 1933). At the time of Conant's appointment as principal, he was a consulting engineer at the local cotton gin works. He had studied astronomy, algebra, conic sections and planetary motion, geometry and differential calculus, and he was admired by his students for his scholarship (Boyden, 1933). Tillinghast's abilities as a mathematical scholar had built a basis for the scientific trend at Bridgewater, which resulted from Conant's principalship (Norton, 1926; Boyden, 1933). Conant was open-minded and had an active imagination and contagious enthusiasm. He was also devoutly religious (Bridgewater, 1915a). Conant was 57 years old at the time Sears knew him, which seemed old to her, but "...in heart and mind he was young and vigorous" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). In

describing Mr. Conant, Eliza Woodward, who spent her life as a teacher at Bridgewater, stated that his "whole mind and strength were given to his teaching...He was constantly drawing his pupils to higher fields of thought and higher attainments" (Boyden, 1933). His favorite studies were mathematics, astronomy and mechanics.

From Conant, Sears acquired her love of astronomy and her interest in mathematics, the two subjects she would teach throughout her career as an educator. Conant would often say to his students, "Come, let's go outdoors, take the sun, and see what new problem we can solve" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). Conant looked to wider horizons than his predecessor and encouraged his students to travel beyond the New England area (Bridgewater, 1915a). His influence on the students has been described by the graduates of Bridgewater, including Sears, as "profound" (Boyden, 1933, p. 32). One day President Conant placed his hand on Sears' head, saying "we expect great things of Miss Sears" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). Without Conant's encouragement to travel beyond New England, Sears' might never have gone to Minnesota.

In the winter of 1859, Sears finished her course at Bridgewater, receiving a General Diploma of the Institution (Bridgewater, 1915b; Bridgewater, 1862). Only about two-thirds of the enrolled students ever completed the course (Bridgewater, 1862). To Sears, Bridgewater was "a fountain of inspiration, leading to a search for Knowledge [sic]"

(Bridgewater, 1915a, p. 25; Boyden, 1933 p. 127). She described her years at Bridgewater as "full of inspiration" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8):

> I could have acquired the same, perhaps more, knowledge elsewhere, but the great thing needed would probably have been lacking. To train the young mentally, physically, morally, was to be our work and we were made to feel that we must do that work well. (Sears, Julia, 1915, p. 8)

The original plan of the normal schools, was that graduates would stay in Massachusetts to teach in the common schools (Bridgewater, 1862). However, it was soon apparentthat few stayed in Massachusetts or remained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses very long. A report of the Visitors of Bridgewater Normal School to the Board in December of 1850 noted that only the male graduates were all engaged for winter schools; some of the female graduates were still waiting an opportunity to teach (Barnard, 1851). Schoolmistresses often married, and when they did so, they ceased teaching; it was unacceptable in nineteenth century society for women to be married and to work outside the home at the same time, unless they were engaged in a joint venture with their husbands, such as the running of a private school. Schoolmasters did not stay in the schools long as they desired to move upward socially and professionally through business (Herbst, 1989).

In 1835 Catharine Beecher stated that "when females are educated as they ought to be, every woman at the close of her school education, will be well qualified to act as a

teacher" (Beecher, 1965, p. 75). She believed that a woman's profession in life "inside and outside the family was to form pure minds and healthy bodies" (Cott, 1977, p. 122). It was generally agreed that women were equal to men in the teaching profession, but "superior to them in knowing the tastes and manners of their pupils" (Winsor, 1881, p. 246 fn). By 1851, educators accepted females as superior to men for teaching; by 1860 one out of five adult women in Massachusetts had at one time been a teacher, indicating a high mobility of women out of teaching (Barnard, 1851; Godey, 1853; Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). The shift from predominantly male teachers to predominantly female took hold most strongly in the Northeast where school enrollments were high and was due to several circumstances in United States society: "a combination of labor market forces, changing demands for the teacher in the wake of educational reforms, and underlying shifts in population perceptions of female roles" (Rury, 1989, p. 15). Yet the compensation women received was distinctly out of proportion to what a man earned as a teacher (Winsor, 1881). It was believed that women could afford to teach for half the salary of a man "because the female teacher had only to sustain herself" (Godey, 1853, p. 177). Then male teachers could leave the teaching profession "to add to the wealth of the nation in other ways" (Woloch, 1992, p. 230; Cott, 1977).

By 1860, there were more female teachers than male teachers in the United States, and this ratio has never been reversed (Clifford, 1989b). Massachusetts was the leader in the employment of female teachers in its public schools. By 1870 women constituted two-thirds of all public school teachers in the United States (Clifford, 1989b). It was the large preponderance of female teachers that led Adams to predict in 1875 that the occupation of teacher will always be a temporary one, not a career, as "teachers do not continue in service on the average more than three years" (Adams, 1875/1969, p. 181). Yet as the decade progressed and the era of Respected Spinsterhood took hold, women like Sears did adopt education as a career.

Return to Cape Cod, 1860-66

Teaching Common School

According to 1860 U. S. Census reports of Barnstable County, Sears was a common school teacher that year and living at home in East Dennis with her parents and sisters, Betsey and Amanda. Cape Codders were very proud of their schools, and were "constantly aiming for, and demanding high and better qualities and qualifications in those employed to teach, and those who supervise their schools" (Dennis, 1869, p. 17). By 1868 there were 16 public schools in East Dennis. These schools were run by 16 teachers in winter and 15 teachers in summer. That year, the town of East Dennis raised $5,000 for its schools, while the state provided

$237.15 (Dennis, 1869). From 1860 to 1866, Sears probably taught on the Cape, most likely in Dennis or Brewster. However a search of local newspapers for school reports resulted in no mention of Sears as a teacher in either of these villages (N. Reid, personal communication, October 17, 1994).

Life in East Dennis and West Brewster

Sears' mother died in 1861. Her father then moved to his house in West Brewster, a village of importance at this time (Deyo, 1890). His house was built on the site of Captain Samuel Sears' house, and was close to Julia Sears' former home (May, 1890; H. Kelley, personal communication, September 15, 1994). It was about this time that her father married 49 year-old Dorothy Eldridge, daughter of Samuel E. Eldridge; the date of their marriage is unknown. It is probable that Sears lived at home with her father, stepmother and sisters, Betsey and Amanda, who were 25 and 19 at the time. Amanda then decided to become a teacher and by 1866 was teaching at a school in Harwich (Sears, A., 1868).

Feminists had been involved in the antislavery movement since the late 1830s where they "practiced tactics of recruitment, organization, fund-raising, propagandizing, and petitioning" (Cott, 1977, p. 8). The right of education for Blacks never seemed to be an issue on the Cape, for as early as 1825 an African School was built on Nantucket for

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Blacks (Gulliford, 1984). However, before the Civil War, the Cape split along north and south lines on the issue of which was more important: keeping the Union together or abolishing slavery. The residents of the northern side of the Cape, including East Dennis and West Brewster, were very active in the abolitionist movement almost to the exclusion of caring about the Union. In contrast, the southern half of the Cape sided with Daniel Webster and others in being more concerned with keeping the Union together. Prince S. Crowell, related to Sears' brother-in-law, Milton (Sarah's husband), maintained a well-known underground railroad station in his home in Dennis and supported the abolitionists in any way he could (Clark, 1993; Reid, 1995). Crowell gave money to John Brown in support of the movement and the surrounding villages supported him. Stephen Foster and Parker Pillsbury came to East Dennis to speak in favor of abolition. When John Brown was hung on December 2, 1859, the bells in East Dennis tolled for one hour in his memory (Reid, 1995).

The presidential election in November of 1860 resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln. Dennis was staunchly Republican by then and the town voted overwhemingly for Lincoln (Reid, 1995). Then followed the years of the Civil War with East Dennis and West Brewster firmly supporting the Union Army. A patriotic rally, organized by the local school teachers in 1861, attracted 300 people who listened to

student recitations and speeches by the older citizens in support of the Union.

The next few years would be full of talk about the Civil War. Salt, an important commodity to the South, ran low during the war as a blockade was constructed around southern seaports, but the North, with its salt manufacturers on the Cape did not suffer from this shortage (Quinn, 1993). However, the war pulled the shipbuilders away when they went to be soldiers. As a result, Shiverick's shipbuilding yard in East Dennis was dismantled and the Shivericks left the Cape (Clark, 1993). Some of the local ships were captured and confiscated in Southern ports during the war, so, while Cape Cod was far away from the actual battlefields, the war touched the small villages of sea captains and shipmasters in a very personal way (Reid, 1995). With the men at war, women on the Cape took on even more responsibilities.

In 1866 Sears decided to move to Farmington, Maine, to teach at Western State Normal School where the principal was a former Bridgewater classmate, George M. Gage (Farmington, 1957). Gage had entered Bridgewater the year before Sears, and it is certain that they knew one another there (Boyden, 1933). This was Sears' first stop on her path to Mankato, Minnesota, for it would be Gage's influence that took her west.

Teaching in Maine, 1866-68

Western State Normal School at Farmington

Western State Normal School opened in 1864 with Ambrose P. Kelsey as Principal and George Gage as an assistant. The following year, Gage was appointed Principal, an office he held until 1868, when he moved to Mankato, Minnesota. Western State Normal School then became Farmington State Normal School (American Universities and Colleges, 1992).

The school year at Western State Normal School was divided into three terms: Fall and Spring terms of 14 weeks each and winter term of 10 weeks. The school day for students began at 7 a.m. and lasted until 9:30 every evening including study hours. Students were required to go to bed by 10 pm. and were not to rise before 5 a.m. Sunday requirements included attendance at two services at any of the five churches in town (Mallett, 1974). Gage belonged to the Congregational Church when he was in Farmington, but a search of church records revealed no mention of Sears as a member of this church.

Pestalozzian Methods

Teaching methods were changing, and Sears had to learn as she taught. "Object teaching and oral instruction," after the teachings of Pestalozzi, were in style (Cubberley, 1919). Pestalozzi's ideas on teaching had penetrated England in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, they were

brought to New England by William C. Woodbridge (Cubberley, 1920). Pestalozzi's method of instruction was based on the "natural and orderly development of the instincts, capacities, and powers of the growing child" (Cubberley, 1948, p. 541). He believed that the teacher should be with the student constantly, "always talking, questioning, explaining, and repeating" (Cubberley, 1920, p. 443). Thus observation and investigation became more important than memorizing. Class organization and group instruction based on the child's development led to the development of the elementary school in the nineteenth century (Cubberley, 1948). This style of teaching, then, had to be taught in all of the normal schools of New England, as teaching methods permeated all common schools across state lines.

Maine Teachers

There were, however, many differences in the structure of the school term and in teacher salaries between states, even within the New England region. The U. S. Office of Education, founded in 1867, only collected statistics and diffused information (Tyack & Hansot, 1951/1982). It did not regulate the schools. The length of the school term in each state was regulated by climate, labor market, development and needs of each state (Adams, 1875/1969). In Massachusetts the school year lasted nine months, while in Maine the year lasted only five months.

Salaries for teaching in Maine were about one third of teacher salaries in Massachusetts. For instance in 1872, a Maine male school teacher was earning $34.28 per month for five months; a female teacher earned $15.16 per month. In Massachusetts, their counterparts earned $93.65 per month for nine months and $34.14 per month, respectively. Female teachers in East Dennis were earning $60 a month, and males were earning $70 a month (Dennis, 1869). According to the superintendent of Maine schools in 1872, a female teacher in Maine working only five months a year at $15.16 per month "cannot earn her living by teaching" (Adams, 1875/1969). Such a situation made it difficult for women to afford to teach in Maine. Salaries at the normal school reflected these differences. Salaries of normal school principals in 1865 ranged from $1,200 at Farmington to $2,500 at Bridgewater to $3,000 at Illinois (Mallett, 1974). The assistants at Farmington were paid a maximum of $500, where as other normal schools paid their assistants an average of $1,400-1,500 (Mallett, 1974). For this reason, when the State Superintendent of Education, Mark Dunnell, moved to Minnesota, he was able to convince many Maine teachers and Farmington graduates, including George Gage, to follow him.

Sears stayed at Farmington until 1868 when Gage followed Dunnell to Minnesota (Purington, 1889). Sears then moved back to Massachusetts to teach at Prescott School for boys and girls in Charlestown, Boston (Boston, 1869).

Teaching in Boston, 1868-71

Women in Boston

By this time, the Civil War had ended and Congress had passed the first Reconstruction Act, dividing the former confederate states in five military districts (Wood, 1975). President Johnson was impeached and acquitted by one vote in the spring of 1868; by summer, the southern states had begun to be reunited with the North and to establish a public education system (Clemenceau, 1869/1969; Wolfe, 1982). The November 1868 election put Ulysses S. Grant into the Presidency and the U. S. Senate and House became heavily Republican (Clemenceau, 1869/1969).

Prior to the Civil War, the first feminists spoke in small towns in Massachusetts, such as those on Cape Cod, and other states drawing local women "out of their isolation" (Du Bois, 1978, p. 47). Most of the prominent thinkers in Boston at this time were Unitarians who had spoken out against slavery during the war (Ross, 1964). As a result of the Civil War, women were driven to self-support, having lost husbands, sons and fathers, and the conviction that "women ought to be more than the victims of government" began to grow (Livermore, 1883, p. 57). Woman suffrage organizations were becoming active in every state; six states (including Massachusetts and Maine) had been presented with petitions to have the words "white male" removed from their state constitutions (Du Bois, 1978). Suffrage societies formed in

all the New England states between 1868 and 1873 (Du Bois, 1978). Yet the women actively involved in these societies constituted only a small majority of the female population (Ryan, 1982).

By 1868 Susan B. Anthony was publishing her weekly *Revolution*, and the suffrage ranks had split (Woloch, 1994; Dorr, 1928). The New England Suffrage Association (later the American Woman Suffrage Association) was established in 1868 by the conservatives (Stone and Howe), while Anthony and Stanton headed the radicals forming the National Woman Suffrage Association (Dorr, 1928; Lutz, 1959). Massachusetts was the center of the AWSA, and woman suffrage campaigns there were highly organized between 1870 and 1890. Pioneer woman suffrage societies were established in New York and Boston, and Sorosis, the first model for a women's club, was established in New York by journalists and other career women (Woloch, 1994).

In 1868 the New England Women's Club was formed by Boston professional women and reformers (Woloch, 1994; Sprague, 1894). The Education Committee of the New England Women's Club invited Boston public school teachers to evening lectures such as "Drawing in Public Schools," "The Advantages of General or Special Study," and John Philbrick's "The Need of Better Training for Teachers" (Sprague, 1894). It is possible that Sears attended these lectures while in Boston. Leaders in the Club included Anna Brackett, Ellen Richards,

Ednah Cheney, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and Mary Peabody (Mrs. Horace) Mann (Sprague, 1894).

Women's professions had begun to extend beyond the home, but retained links to homelike surroundings. Thus nursing and teaching were acceptable professions, as in these professions women dealt mostly with children, women, and persons in need. Professions for women were seen as filling the gap between schooling and marriage or as occupations for lifetime spinsters (Woloch, 1994). Before 1800, New England women married at an average age of 22 or 23 (Cott, 1977). But by the 1850s marriage was assaulted in the literature of the period, and women began to marry later in life, if at all (Ryan, 1982). Of the women born in the U. S. between 1835 and 1855, between seven and eight percent never married (Woloch, 1994). As result of the Civil War and "drunkenness" (Livermore, 1833, p. 151), the male population was reduced. In addition, the ratio of women to men in New England had been increasing as men moved west to settle new lands. This caused family life of the New Englander to begin later in life and include fewer offspring (Livermore, 1883). "By 1880 there were more women than men in Massachusetts" (Wolloch, 1994, p. 274). Most of the women who did not marry were those in "highest status, standards and educational levels, who were likely to have the fewest options of all" (Woloch, 1994, p. 274).

Sears was only 29 years old when she went to Boston. That was probably not considered an advanced age for marriage in her family, as her sister, Betsey, had just married at the age of 31. Yet Sears' commitment to a lifetime of teaching had been made early in her life, and this commitment in nineteenth century society precluded any possibility of marriage. Her ambitions and goals in life, then, centered around her career as a teacher. "For women, profession meant service, not profit" (Woloch, 1994, p. 285). Perfection was Sears' aim. As an individual who highly valued intelligence in other individuals, she expected the best from her students, her family, and her colleagues (E. T. Foster, personal communication, July 6, 1994).

Life in Boston

During her years in Boston, Sears boarded at 4 Saratoga Street in East Boston for two years, then moved to a different boarding house in 1870 (Boston, 1869). In East Boston, Sears was surrounded by factories, sea captains and ship builders, as many packet and clipper ships were built there (Ross, 1964). From Boston, it was an easy two to three day trip to West Brewster for the school holidays. Amanda had sailed with Sarah and her husband from New York to San Francisco to Liverpool and back again during 1867 and 1868 and had written to Sears often about her adventures (Sears, A. 1868). She was back on the Cape teaching primary school in West Dennis when Sears was teaching in Boston, so these

two sisters, who were closer than any of the other Sears sisters, must have been delighted to be able to spend time together.

Education in Boston

Students were admitted to grammar schools in Boston if they could read easy prose, spell common words, distinguish marks of punctuation, and perform simple mental arithmetic, read and write Arabic numbers and Roman numerals, and enunciate clearly and accurately. Subjects included geography, history, spelling, reading, arithmetic, English grammar and pronunciation, writing, bookkeeping, morals, natural philosophy, and physiology (Talbot, 1910). By 1828 girls were admitted to these schools on equal terms with the boys, but girls were not assigned out-of-school lessons (Apollonio, 1923; Talbot, 1910). Women served on School Committees in several Massachusetts cities and towns before 1873, but none served on the Boston Committee until 1874 (Apollonio, 1923).

For three years, Sears lived in Boston and served as a Head Assistant in the Prescott School. Prescott School, founded in 1865, was located on Prescott Street in Charlestown (Boston, 1869). The school was probably named for William Hickling Prescott (1796-1859), a distinguished historian; very little information about this school exists today (Ross, 1964). The Master of the Prescott School at the time of Sears' appointment was James F. Blackinton. Under

him were a Sub-master (James W. Webster), and Master's Assistant (Louisa M. Collyer). Sears was one of three Head Assistants, the other two being Louise S. Hotchkiss and H. Lizzie Dearing (Boston, 1869). Her salary was $700 for her first year, and $800 for each of the two years following (Boston, 1869; Boston, 1870; Boston, 1871).

An Office of the School Superintendant was established in Boston in 1851 and John D. Philbrick served as Superintendent during Sears' years in Boston (Apollonio, 1923). Supervisors visited their teachers annually, recording their opinions and estimates of the teachers in what were referred to as "Black Books" (Apollonio, p. 40). Sometime during the past hundred years, these books have been lost, so early evaluations of Sears' teaching are not known.

During Sears' second year at Prescott, a new Master's Assistant was hired: Elizabeth R. Drowne. H. Lizzie Dearing left her teaching position and Frances H. Turner took her place (Boston, 1870). In July of 1870 George Gage wrote to Sears from Mankato offering her a position of Head Assistant at Mankato Normal School at the salary of $850 a year (Minnesota State Normal School Board [SNSB], 1870, p. 111). Sears declined the offer and stayed on at Prescott for a third year (Boston, 1871). Perhaps a $50 increase in salary was not enough incentive for her to head West. During her third year, James Webster left his position as Sub-Master of Prescott, and Lewis H. Dutton (later Master of Hancock

School) was appointed in his place (Boston, 1871; Apollonio, 1923). Teachers were sometimes promoted into the position of sub-master if time and opportunity were in their favor. "The sub-master was heir-apparent [to the position of master] and as such generally recognized" (Apollonio, 1923, p. 44). However, very few females became masters of Boston public schools. Only three: Sarah Baker, Loea P. Howard, and Sarah Fuller are mentioned in Apollonio's review of the Boston public schools (Apollonio, 1923). Sarah Baker was the first woman to serve as master of a Boston grammar school, and she served in this capacity for 44 years (Boyden, 1933; Cheney, 1881). If Sears had stayed on at Prescott School a third year, hoping for a promotion to the sub-master position, she was to be disappointed in her efforts.

Advanced Classes at Massachusetts Institute of Technology

According to Catharine Beecher, the study of mathematics in female education was designed "for the cultivation of certain mental faculties, such as *attention*, *perseverance*, and *accuracy*" (Beecher, 1835, p. 70). In England, Davies (1866), who believed that a woman could have a profession and marriage at the same time, stated that mathematics were sometimes recommended to girls "as a curb to the imagination" (p. 137). Branches of arithmetic normally offered to females for study included plane geometry, algebra, plane trigonometry, bookkeeping, and mensuration.

Very seldom were conic sections, solid geometry and spherical trigonometry offered (Woody, 1929).

In her autobiographical article of 1915, Sears stated, "Feeling the need of special instruction along certain lines I studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology" (Sears, J. A., 1915, p. 8). It was sometime during these years in Boston, that Sears attended mathematics classes at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There were, from the beginning in 1865, matriculated female students at MIT; the first to earn a B.S. was Ellen Richards in 1873 (Woloch, 1994; Winsor, 1881). While no record of Sears' attendance was found, it is possible that she attended classes as a non-matriculating student, as "persons who desire[d] to pursue special portions only of any of the regular courses" could do so (Winsor, 1881, p. 275). An institute was also available which provided "evening instruction to persons of both sexes" (Winsor, 1881, p. 275).

Mathematics instruction had begun to change in the mid-nineteenth century with Warren Colburn's *Teaching of Arithmetic* and other publications. His new system of teaching involved letting children pursue their own method of solving a problem first. The old system of teaching used mere memorization and unrealistic problems. Students under the old method advanced little beyond the four primary rules and "very few females pretended to study it all" (Colburn, 1830, p. 25). Three major developments occurred in

arithmetic teaching in the nineteenth century: 1) Colburn's rule method and discovery approach, 2) formalization into a logical system of definitions, principles, and theorems, and 3) the use of manipulative objects in early number work (Bidwell & Clason, 1970). Also, in the mid-nineteenth century, mathematics became the science of quantity, and geometry became the science of space.

It was these developments and advanced courses, then, that interested Sears in pursuing further mathematical training. As Venable had written of women in 1868, "stimulate all the talents, and give them full scope" (Venable, 1868, p. 123), and this Sears did.

By December of 1871, Sears had received another offer from George Gage: Head Assistant at Mankato Normal School at a salary of $1,000 per year. This time she accepted (SNSB, 1871, p. 125).

SEARS IN MINNESOTA

In Preparation

By Fall 1871, Sears had had eleven years of experience teaching in common schools, grammar schools and normal schools. She, herself, had completed courses at a common school, probably an academy, Bridgewater Normal School, and probably the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She was well-qualified to teach at any normal school or common school in the country. Yet she chose to leave the East and head for the prairies, perhaps because her close association with George Gage in Maine had provided her with a ready-made friendship in Minnesota. In fact, 22 graduates of Farmington Normal School had already accepted permanent teaching positions in Minnesota (Mallett, 1974). One alumnus, Charles A. Boston, taught at Mankato Normal School from 1868 to 1869, Mankato Normal's first year in existence (Mallett, 1974). Sears went to Mankato, Minnesota, with a wealth of successful teaching experience, advanced training in mathematics and, perhaps, a sense of comfort at being amongst Maine friends in a new territory.

Sears also went west with a full Cape Cod background which afforded her strength of character, morals, and a sense of independence. Her father had been remarried for ten years and her sisters were all, except young Amanda, married. Amanda had moved to Fairhaven, Massachusetts, to teach at North Fairhaven School and to live with their sister, Sarah and her husband, Milton Crowell (Harris, 1952). In all her 32 years, Sears had never been far from the sea. Going to the prairies of Minnesota was an adventure she was never to forget, but also one she chose never to reveal afterwards.

The Westward Movement of Female Teachers

The Homestead Act of 1862, which went into effect January 1, 1863, made it possible for a man to receive 160 acres of land free from the government. In return he paid a small fee and promised to live on the land farming it for five years. For the next three years, more than 9,500 homesteads were started in Minnesota (Loehr, 1963). The possibility of purchasing land on credit from the railroads also spurred on a movement westward to the frontier (Cordier, 1992).

Horace Greeley had exhorted "Go West Young Man" in the mid-1800s and the men of New England had gone, leaving the women behind (Livermore, 1883). Now those women had become educated, and they responded to the cry for teachers from the newly established towns on the frontier. The New England teachers "carried the public school idea with them wherever

they went" (Cubberley, 1919, p. 215), and in the late 1800s the public school idea went with them to the prairies.

In about 1835 the Boston Ladies' Society for Promoting Education in the West began to send teachers to the western frontier (Goodsell, 1931/1970; Kaufman, 1984). In 1846 Catharine Beecher created the Board of National Popular Education "to raise funds to train teachers who would staff schools in new western communities" (Beecher, 1992, p. 233). Seventy women from New England were sent as teachers to Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Tennessee and Kentucky (Beecher, 1992). Another 600 were sent to Ohio and Oregon (Cordier, 1992). Teachers were asked to pledge a two-year commitment, but over two-thirds remained in the West (Kaufman, 1984). The Board of National Popular Education was regarded by some as "a little gem which has expanded into a mighty tree" (Bishop, 1857).

Several thousand northern teachers, 95% of them women from New England, also went south to teach in freedman's schools. There they strove to regenerate the South by transforming it into "something like the North" (Chase, S. & Chase, L., 1992, p. 396). Over 50 northern benevolent societies financed these teachers, the two main sponsoring organizations being the American Freedman's Union Commission (AFUC)[mostly Quakers, Unitarians and feminists] and the American Missionary Association (AMA) [headed by an all-male leadership] (Wolfe, 1982). By 1880 "interest in the plight

of the Southern Black was waning in the North" (Wolfe, 1982, p. 205), and the Freedman's Bureau ceased to operate.

Sears had several options open to her if her intention was to leave the East. With her credentials, she could have taught in the South or gone to the prairies under the auspices of one of these organizations. It seems clear that she went to Mankato, Minnesota, only because Gage, her colleague from Farmington, had invited her *twice* to come. Sears came from a family of sea captains who travelled widely and their wives went with them (Sears, A. 1868). Based on her already varied career, she surely had her family's spirit of adventure; the trip west must have appealed to this part of her nature.

Education on the Western Frontier

Although Sears was going to a territory which bordered on a frontier unsettled by white settlers, she was surrounded by an established society of former New Englanders. New England institutions had been transplanted on Minnesota soil. In fact, the West regarded the East "as its Alma Mater" (Bishop, 1857, p. 318). Over the years, the melding of New England ideas with the western way of life was so complete that the West developed its own identity; no longer did it "look towards the rising sun for her educational light" (Bishop, 1857, p. 316).

When Sears went west in 1871, the states surrounding Minnesota had established systems of higher education and of

teacher training. In 1848 Iowa had state normal schools at Andrew, Oskaloosa, and Mt. Pleasant. In 1857 the University of Iowa became the first state university to admit women. The University of Wisconsin followed by admitting women in 1862 and the University of Michigan in 1870. In 1869 Julia Addington (an Iowan) became the first woman elected to the position of county superintendent of schools. Emporia State Normal School was established in Kansas in 1865 and Leavenworth State Normal School in 1870. Nebraska had established a normal school in Peru, Nebraska, in 1867, and by Fall 1871 had a staff of five with 91 Normal students and 38 model school students (Cordier, 1992). The State Normal School at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, had 350 students by 1873, 160 of whom were in the Normal Department (Winona Daily Republican [Winona D. Rep.], 26 Sepember 1873, p. 3).

Normal schools for Blacks and Native Americans had also been established in the West. In 1867 the Colored Normal School at Quindaro, Kansas was established "to provide teachers for the children of freed slaves" (Cordier, 1992, p. 70). In 1870 the University of Kansas admitted its first Black students. The Santee Normal Training School for Native Americans was established in 1870 in Nebraska; classes were taught in the Dakota language, as well as in English (Cordier, 1992).

The teaching profession, nationally, had organized itself into the National Education Association, which in the

1870s had four policy making divisions: Normal Schools, Higher Education, Superintendence, Elementary Education (Spring, 1994). By the 1870s two-thirds of the teachers in the United States were female. Most were white and from lower and middle class families. Over the next thirty years, the number of teachers in the United States would triple, as education spread to new territories in the West and the public school system was developed after the Civil War in the South (Cordier, 1992).

Minnesota in the Nineteenth Century

History

When white men and women first went to Minnesota in the first half of the nineteenth century, they traveled by way of the Great Lakes to Milwaukee then west through Portage to the territory known as Minnesota (Cole, 1930). Minnesota became the thirty-second state of the Union in 1858 and promptly elected both Democratic governor and Democratic legislature (Hubbart, 1936). The Democratic bent of the government caused Minnesota "to be allied with the lower West on public questions" (Hubbart, 1936, p. 115) and formed a strong basis seen ten years later when the issue of negro suffrage ("a radical Republican wish") was refused by the legislature (Hubbart, 1936, p. 244).

By 1864 Minnesota had become Republican, opposing the extension of slavery and standing firm for the Homestead Law (Hesseltine, 1963; Loehr, 1963). The following year the

Minnesota Unionist convention passed a resolution in support of suffrage to all peoples in their population, regardless of religion, place of birth, race or color (Clemenceau, 1869/1969). Yet that same year, Minnesota rejected negro suffrage (Henry, 1963). Again in 1867 negro suffrage was defeated (Hubbart, 1936). Nevertheless, Minnesota kept a Republican governor in office until 1899 and continued to vote Republican in national elections until 1932 (Loehr, 1963).

In 1868, Senator Ramsey of Minnesota and Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts joined forces in proposing to annex the British provinces of Canada to the United States (Morton, 1966). But outside of this joint venture, the senators from the midwest and those from New England were constantly opposed to each other from 1866 to 1877 (Linden, 1975).

Life

The state of Minnesota is "an area considerably greater than the British Isles" (Caird, 1859/1973, p. 107). The southern part of the state was described in 1858 to be chiefly prairie and very level. The soil was sandy, the winters "intensely cold" and the summers were short (Caird, 1859/1973, p. 107). Tourists were known to have described the summers like those in France and the winters like those in Sweden (Landon, 1866). But Harriet Bishop, an early settler of Minnesota, published a travelogue "to sell to

Minnesota easterners" (Bolin, 1977, p. 17) between 1857 and 1869, and westward the easterners came.

The Minnesota settlers of the nineteenth century were subjected to grasshopper plagues, blizzards, cholera and typhoid epidemics, prairie fires, Indian massacres, Colorado beetles that damaged the potato crop and epizootic epidemics that attacked the livestock (Hughes, 1909). Three major hazards for Minnesotans were the grasshoppers, the winter blizzards and the Indian massacres of the 1860s. Van Cleve (1888/1895) describes the grasshopper epidemic of 1857 as follows:

> They are young grasshoppers [hardly larger than fleas]...they covered everything...gardens are entirely demolished...screens of cloth put over hot-beds for protection were eaten as greedily as the plants themselves...one bright June morning there was a movement and an unusual sound...our dire enemy [was] rising in masses, like a great army...making our home...the 'land shadowing with wings' and finally disappeared in the south. (Van Cleve, 1888/1895, pp. 146-147)

The grasshoppers had left Fort Snelling, Van Cleve's home, and headed south to Blue Earth County, where Mankato is located. The grasshoppers, which were actually Rocky Mountain locusts, invaded again in the early 1870s as Minnesota struggled with a new agricultural economy (Lundin, 1990; Ray, 1977; Folwell, 1926). These "hard times affected enrollments and allocations" to the normal schools, as normal school money came primarily from taxes (Youel, 1968,p. 15). The destruction wrought by the grasshoppers also resulted

in reductions of teacher salaries in some districts (Cordier, 1992). However, the grasshopper invasions of 1873 did not greatly damage the crops around Mankato as they invaded only the southwestern corner of Blue Earth County (Atkins, 1984).

In 1853 the Minnesota Sioux Indians were moved to reservations, and two years later the Winnebago Indian Reservation was created just south of Blue Earth County (Lundin, 1990; Hall, 1973). In the early days of Fort Snelling, the Sioux and Chippewa often fought, but peace was maintained through intervention from Fort Snelling (Van Cleve, 1888/1895). In 1857 Sioux rampaged and killed 30 settlers in Iowa. No annuities were paid by the government until the perpetrators of this massacre were caught (Lundin, 1990).

The Sioux then moved to Minnesota and killed more settlers. Settlers in St. Cloud fled to Fort Snelling. The crop failure of 1862 and following winter of near-starvation caused further unrest amongst the Indians around Mankato. In August of 1862 the Indians were promised food by the government, but the Indian agent refused to give out the annuities and refused credit. So the Indians stole food and killed settlers (Lundin, 1990). The Battle of New Ulm, a town next to Mankato, brought 80 wounded settlers to Mankato for protection (M'Conkey, 1863/1978). "It was a mournful cortege which on that Monday morning took up its line of march for Mankato, twenty-five miles distant...such a march

history never recorded" (M'Conkey, 1863/1978, pp. 62-63). Mankatoans posted guards around the town; while there were several false alarms, the town was not attacked (Mankato Weekly Review [MWRv], 6 February 1872, p. 1).

As a result of the 1862 uprising around Mankato, 307 Indians were sentenced to death and 16 Indians sentenced to prison. President Lincoln objected to the death sentence of so many and agreed only to the death of 38 Indians. These Indians were imprisoned in a large stone building in Mankato where, after weapons were discovered amongst them, they were chained and fettered in pairs (Leslie, 1863). Priests visited them and converted some to Christianity before they were hung on a giant scaffold on December 26, 1862, in Mankato (Lundin, 1990; Swisshelm, 1880/1970; M'Conkey, 1863/1978; Cole, 1930; Leslie, 1863; Morris, 1914/1976). This execution was the largest mass hanging in United States history (Een, 1994). The Sioux were then banished from Minnesota (Lundin, 1990). In all, the Sioux had killed 1,000 men, women, and children (Swisshelm, 1880/1970). In less than one week in August of that year, "more white people perished in that savage slaughter than in all the other massacres ever perpetrated on the North American Continent" (Hubbard & Holcombe, 1908, p. 269). The Indians had ravaged more than 150 miles of the frontier, burned settlers' homes, driven more than 10,000 people from their homes, and taken captive more than 100 women and children (M'Conkey,

1863/1978). The following year, the Winnebago Indian reservation was moved out of Blue Earth County (Hall, 1973).

In 1867 the state legislature passed a resolution to assist in forming a treaty between the government and the Sioux Indians with Minnesotans obtaining right of way through Sioux country and security of mail, emigrant travel and movement of supplies across the plains (Minnesota, 1867). So by the time Sears went to Minnesota, there had been no serious Indian troubles for about 10 years. However, the memories of the mass hanging and the loss of friends and families were fresh in the minds of the Mankatoans, causing them to be protective of their own citizens and their own institutions.

By 1872 Minnesota had 1,906 miles of completed railroads, 70% of which had been built in the last four years (Folwell, 1926). Nearly 60% of all cultivated areas were devoted to wheat. Many vegetables and potatoes were grown, as well as plenty of native berries, but only the hardiest of fruits survived the harsh winters. Cranberries were grown in St. Cloud and imported from Wisconsin. Peaches were brought in from Delaware and oysters from Baltimore, much to the delight of the transplanted New Englanders (Faribault Democrat, 1873).

The population of the state in the 1870s was approximately 440,000, made of approximately 279,000 American born (126,000 born in Minnesota, 81,000 from the north

Atlantic states, and 64,000 from the north central region), 46,600 British (about half were Irish), 59,400 Scandinavians, and 48,500 Germans. Over 96,000 children, representing about 60% of school-age children (which was a normal percentage at that time), were in schools (Folwell, 1926). Public schooling was very important in the state and had been offered from Minnesota's beginning.

Education

In 1847 Miss Amanda Hopkins, Minnesota's first teacher, was obtained through the Board of National Popular Education. An educational system in Minnesota was begun in 1850 with the establishment by law of the district schools (Bishop, 1857). One eighteenth of all public lands was set aside for support of schools and 46,000 acres were appropriated for a state university (Caird, 1859/1973). The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had "provided Minnesota and seven other states rights to two sections of land in each township...to be used for school purposes instead of one section as many of the other states received" (Hall, 1973, p. 11).

The first state superintendent of education was Edward D. Neill in 1860. It was in 1867 that Mark Dunnell went to Minnesota from Maine to be the State Superintendent (Kiehle, 1903). Dunnell organized teachers' institutes for the rural school teachers and promoted the normal school movement in Minnesota (Kiehle, 1903). During his three years as

superintendent, he enticed many graduates and teachers from Farmington Normal School in Maine to the state of Minnesota. Twenty-two stayed on in permanent teaching positions (Mallett, 1974). With them they brought the educational system of New England, planting it into the Minnesota prairies, including common schools, county and state superintendants of education, state governing boards, and normal schools (Cubberley, 1919).

After 1851, teachers in Minnesota were required to be examined and licensed by county trustees before they could be employed. By 1862 one man in each county commissioner's district was appointed to visit schools and examine and license teachers (Kiehle, 1903). In 1868 Minnesota "had more schools than any other state with comparable taxable property and population" (Hall, 1973, p. 25). By 1870 there were 3,775 teachers in 2,625 school districts in Minnesota (Youel, 1968).

In 1851 the Regents of the University of Minnesota State Board were established (Zwingle & Rogers, 1972). At his inauguration in 1869 as President of the University of Minnesota, William W. Folwell said that the university "knows not male nor female...The doors...stand open to all worthy comers" (Clifford, 1989a, p. 53). Thus the University of Minnesota became another coeducational institution.

In Blue Earth County, where Mankato was located, there were 68 public schools with 2,093 students and 70 teachers

(45 male and 25 female) and 23 new schoolhouses in 1868-69 (Hughes, 1909). All townships in Blue Earth County had schools (Hall, 1973). By 1870, 118 schools were in operation in Blue Earth County (Hall, 1973). The county superintendant of schools from 1872-75 was E. C. Payne, who was also Education Editor for the *Mankato Weekly Review*. Payne made sure that large education articles were on the front page of nearly every issue of this newspaper beginning in January 1873, keeping the citizens of Mankato well informed of all educational matters. Included in his column were articles on school management, the importance of the school of experience for teachers, the teacher's task, and full reports on his visits to the schools in the county--including teacher evaluations. In 1870 Blue Earth College was established at Mankato by Rev. A. Council of the Christian Church. This institution lasted only a year, due to the ill health of the principal (Hughes, 1909; MWRv, 7 March 1871, p.3).

The first Minnesota Legislature "made provisions for common schools and proposed that three normal schools be established at five year intervals." Spearheaded by John D. Ford of Winona, the 1858 Minnesota law enabled the establishment of normal schools in Minnesota and established the Minnesota Normal School Board (Mitau, 1977; Zwingle & Rogers, 1972; Anderson, 1987). The Board's responsibilities included selection of school sites, building contracts, appointment of faculty, and curriculum development (Anderson,

1987). On February 13, 1865, the state of Minnesota passed an Act which appropriated swamp lands for normal schools, insane asylums, a deaf and dumb institute, and a state prison. Seventy-five thousand acres were appropriated for the support of each normal school (General Laws, Chapt. V, Section 1, 1865-66) (Minnesota, 1865).

Cities that wanted a normal school were required to raise $5,000 to match the state appropriation. Three state normal schools were initially planned. Bitter battles were sometimes fought between neighboring communities, such as Mankato and St. Peter, which were vying for the same school. It was decided that the normal schools would be located at Winona, Mankato, and St. Cloud (Youel, 1969; Mitau, 1977). Each normal school was designed to serve a certain geographical region of the state, as the normal schools in Massachusetts had been designed. The Second State Normal School, located in Mankato, was to serve southern Minnesota counties, including its own: Blue Earth County.

Mankato Normal School, 1868-71

In 1853 Blue Earth County was created with the settlement of Mankato located on its northern border, which followed the bend in the Minnesota River (Hall, 1973). Mankato, situated directly on this ninety degree bend of the river, was settled in 1852 with the first house being erected that year by Parsons K. Johnson (Hall, 1973; Lundin, 1990). [In her book, *Floral Home*, Harriet Bishop reminisced about

stopping at this log house in about 1853 where she ate a meal of ham, eggs, and duck-stew pie "such as might tempt the fastidious palate" (Bishop, 1857, p. 292).] Mankato quickly became a thriving town with the first two churches, Episcopal and Methodist-Episcopal, built in 1855 (Mankato Public Library). Mankato was settled almost wholly by Germans, mostly Catholic, but contained many Welsh and Swedish immigrants as well (Hughes, 1909).

By 1866 the Minnesota legislature had appropriated $5,000 for buildings and salaries for the second state normal school, to be built at Mankato, if the town of Mankato matched this amount (Mankato State Normal School, 1878). Daniel Buck, a prominent Mankato lawyer and member of the state legislature, had proposed that the school be located in Mankato. Buck became chair of the Prudential Committee, the local governing board for the school, and proceeded rapidly in his task of raising matching funds of $5,000 from the citizens. The owners of the *Mankato Weekly Record* and the *Mankato Weekly Union* were also on the fund-raising committee (Anderson, 1987).

Henry Barnard (1851) stated that

> institutions for the higher branches of classical learning have seldom flourished in this country under legislative patronage...but [normal schools] the people at large will feel to be for their immediate benefit due to the appreciation of good common schools. [People will be] willing to incur heavy sacrifices for the sake of securing it. (Barnard, 1851, p. 126)

By Fall 1868 the citizens of Mankato had made their "sacrifice"; they had raised the necessary funds for the normal school. Mankato was ready to establish Minnesota's Second State Normal School.

George Gage was hired as principal of the Normal School and arrived from Maine on August 28, 1868 (Mankato, 1903). Gage had just turned 34 years of age. By the time he arrived in Minnesota, Gage had taught in six different Maine towns, had been principal of Adams School in Quincy, Massachusetts and principal of Farmington Normal School in Maine. He had also worked on farms in haying season and served one year as a brakeman on a railroad (Purington, 1889; Mallett, 1974). He was well suited to lead a normal school in rural Minnesota. Gage was authorized by the Prudential Committee to hire three assistant teachers (Prudential Committee, 1871).

On September 1, 1868, Mankato Normal School was opened under Gage in the basement of the Methodist-Episcopal Church (Mankato State Normal School, 1878) with 27 students, assisted by Charles A. Boston (a graduate of Farmington) and Edna L. Montgomery (Mankato, 1903; Mankato State Normal School [SNS] Alumni, 1891). On October 26, the Normal School was moved to the second floor of the Shaubut Store on the corner of Front and Main Streets. By this time there were 40 students, a number that doubled by November. Susie Dyer of

Massachusetts (another Farmington graduate) was then added to the faculty (Mankato SNS Alumni, 1891).

In 1870 Mankato Normal School had its own building, formally opened on April 26 (Mankato State Normal School, 1878). The front section of the was 52 feet by 63 feet with two 11 foot square towers on each front corner. The wings were 30 feet by 63 and a half feet and ran away from the front of the building leaving a courtyard in the rear. The entire building was 116 feet deep, 116 feet across the front and 126 feet wide in the rear, and was made of brick and stone from local quarries. It consisted of three floors and a basement. The main floor had four model school rooms, each 30 feet square and each with a recitation room, which was 25 feet square, a wardrobe and a washroom. The second floor contained one high school room, two recitation rooms, two chemical and cabinet rooms, and two large wardrobes. The third story contained the Normal Hall, which could seat 800 people, two recitation rooms, teachers' and superintendent's rooms, library (initially holding about 5,000 books), music rooms, two large wardrobes, and study rooms (MWRv, 5 July 1870, p. 3; MWRv, 8 February 1870, p. 1).

Students at the Normal School were an average age of 19 and a half (minimum age was 16) and most were first year students (Youel, 1968). Boarding was provided by the citizens of Mankato at the cost of $3.50 to $4.00 per week

(Anderson, 1987). They were expected to come to school equipped with a dictionary and a Bible (Anderson, 1987).

Originally, the school year consisted of 33 weeks divided into three terms of 11 weeks each (Prudential Committee, Sept. 5, 1868). By the time Sears arrived in 1871, the school year had been changed to two terms. The course was a two-year program of two semesters each (Youel, 1968).

Entrance requirements for Mankato Normal School were based on an average age level with an educational level "assumed to be that of an eighth-grade student" (Youel, 1968, p. 4). Admission exams were administered in the areas of reading, writing, spelling, geography, arithmetic, and grammar (Youel, 1968). Once a student was accepted, he or she would attend classes in the areas of common school subjects, academy subjects (those normally taught at academies), and professional education, including observation and practice teaching (Youel, 1968; Mitau, 1977). The curricula were influenced by Pestalozzi and the "Oswego, New York pattern of instruction," which had come to the Minnesota normal schools through W. F. Phelps, Principal of the First State Normal School at Winona (Mitau, 1977; Kiehle, 1903). Emphasis was on mastery of basic subjects and practice teaching (Mitau, 1977).

The first class graduated in June 1870 (MWRv, 14 June 1870, p. 3; MWRv, 5 July 1870, p. 3). Graduates of Mankato

could expect to enter the profession of teaching in the common schools of Minnesota, earning $37.14 per month if they were male and $23.36 per month, if they were female (Youel, 1968). A signed pledge to teach in the Minnesota schools was required of all students. A blank book of pledge forms was required by the State Normal School Board to be kept at the school. In this book, students were to pledge their service to the State. These were really pledges of good faith, or promises that could not be enforced. However, they served to remind the students that their education was being provided free by the State, and that they were expected to repay the State in service.

The development of the normal schools involved active participation of the local community and its leadership, as its financial support was shared by the state and the local community (Mitau, 1977). The common schools were supported by land grants, as was the University. Secondary education schools in Minnesota at that time (1870) were mostly all private academies, one of which was the Select School of Mankato (Youel, 1968). But almost all operating monies for the normal schools were derived from taxes and from "a very meager income from fees and rentals" (Youel, 1968, p. 15). When Mankato Normal School opened in 1868, the tuition for the Normal Department was free and in the Model School was $2 per term of eleven weeks in the Primary Department and $4 per term of eleven weeks in the Preparatory Department

(Prudential Committee, 1871). Taxes were heavy for citizens of the state during these years as the new agricultural economy was depressed, effecting both the enrollments in the schools and allocations for the support of the schools. The grasshopper plagues that ruined the crops in the county may have also contributed to the financial difficulties of the citizens, as this was an agrarian society.

On January 28, 1870, the Minnesota legislature considered abolishing the normal schools in favor of a soldier's orphan asylum. This resolution was indefinitely postponed by a slim margin of 20 to 18 (January 28, 1870) (Minnesota, 1870). The legislature continued its reprimands of normal schools including a severe statement in March because of the schools' overexpenditures, particularly the normal school in Winona. The Prudential Committees of the normal schools were then instructed to submit "a set of books, clearly kept, in double entry form, and fully written up to the first of December 1870, with balance sheet complete for each year, and the same shall be required every year thereafter" (March 3, 1870) (Minnesota, 1870). Because of the criticism from the state legislature, the State Normal School Board began to exert stronger authority over the schools.

In 1870 the citizens of Mankato submitted a petition to the State Normal School Board requesting that classics and higher mathematics be taught in their normal school. The

board, however, would not permit these subjects to be taught, deciding that these were not "within the scope of normal school training" (Youel, 1968, p. 18; SNSB, July 1, 1870, pp. 112-113). Already the Board was indicating its intention to run the school apart from local influence.

Sears' Arrival in Mankato, Fall 1871

On July 7, 1871, Blue Earth County was hit by one of the worst hail storms in its history. Nothing was damaged in Mankato Township, but the storm hit seven areas in the county; the farmers had to apply for assistance from the governor (Hughes, 1909). New Bedford, a neighboring town to Fairhaven, Massachusetts, sent money "for relief of sufferers by the elements in Minnesota" (St. Peter Tribune [St. Peter T.], 3 January 1872, p. 2). Sears' sisters, Amanda and Sarah, were living in Fairhaven at the time and were often in New Bedford on shopping expeditions. They must have wondered, on hearing of this disaster, what kind of adventures their sister would have so far from home, as they watched her prepare for her trip west.

Gage left Mankato the first week of August on "a tour of observation and recreation" through New York and Boston (MWRv, 8 August 1871, p.3). While in the East, he was to fill the two vacancies on the faculty created by the departure of Susie Dyer and Jennie Hayden (Mankato Weekly Union [MWU], 11 August 1871, p. 3). By the third week in August, Gage had informed the Prudential Committee that he

had engaged Sears as First Assistant for the coming year. The *Mankato Weekly Review* described Sears as "an experienced and excellent instructor" (MWRv 29 August 1871, p. 3). Upon Gage's return to the West, he attended the National Educational Convention at St. Louis. Gage returned to Mankato August 29 (MWU, 1 September 1871, p. 3). The second teacher he had hired while in the East was Mary S. Rowland, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke (MWU, 1 September 1871, p. 3).

By the time Sears left Massachusetts in August 1871, she was able to take the train all the way from Massachusetts directly to Mankato, changing in St. Paul for the Sioux City and St. Peter Railroad. The trains had been arriving in Mankato since early October 1868 (Hughes, 1909). Telegraph messages began to arrive the same month. In 1869, the railroad had been extended beyond Mankato to Crystal Lake (Mankato, 1903; Hughes, 1909).

When Sears arrived in Mankato from Massachusetts in 1871, she found a city chartered but for three years in a state only thirteen years old. Yet the town had grown into a self-sufficient community. On May 29, 1870, Mankato had experienced its first big fire which burned down five stores (Hughes, 1909). But by the Fall of 1871, stores included: tinware, stoves, drug stores, banks, clothing, grocery, lumber, farmer's exchange store, meat market, millinery, boots, shoes and hardware, general store Indian traders,

emporium, lime, book, store, dry goods, patent medicines, stationery, produce, etc. Manufacturing had begun as early as 1853 and included saw mills, pumps, wagon making, furniture cabinet making and office fixtures, sash, blends and interior work, staves and heading, cooperage, flour mills, linseed oil, breweries, fanning mills, foundries and machine shops, woolen mill, stone quarry, lime, brick, harness and saddlery, bakeries, cigar making, tanneries, soap making, and tailoring (Mankato, 1903).

By 1868 Mankato had developed into a manufacturing center for farm equipment, with the wool and fur trades also important (Hughes, 1909). "As many as five steamboats a day sometimes arrived at the Mankato levee" (Hughes, 1909, p. 165). Wheat raising became a principal farm industry in Blue Earth County in 1868 as it was, also, for the whole state (Hughes, 1909).

The population of Mankato and Blue Earth County increased rapidly between 1860 and 1870 (Hall, 1973). By 1871 the population of Mankato was 4,285, including approximately six Black families (MWRv, 20 June 1871, p. 4; Mankato Weekly Record [MWRc], 31 August 1872, p. 3). Social societies at the time included Masonic, Odd Fellow and Good Templar Lodges, two social clubs, the Reading Association (possibly also known as the Reading Sociable) and the Library Association. The library had over 900 volumes (MWRv, 6

February 1872, p. 4). This was a literate community whose focus often centered upon education for all.

Newspapers included *Mankato Weekly Review* (Democratic), *Mankato Weekly Record* (Republican) and *Mankato Weekly Union* (Democratic). James Wiswell, a Democrat, had been elected major of Mankato and began his government March 31, 1868. There were 23 post offices in Blue Earth County at this time, including one in Mankato (Hughes, 1909).

There were 10 churches in Mankato, including the Methodist-Episcopal, First Presbyterian, Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, German Lutheran, First Church of Christ, Congregational (organized by Gage and others) and Swedish Lutheran Immanuel (Mankato, 1903). Banks included First National Bank and Lewis & Shaubut (Mankato, 1903). The Pioneer Cemetery and Masonic Cemetery had been built in 1857 (Mankato Public Library).

A city ordinance in 1871 ordered sidewalks to be put down. Installation of these pine walks began in early June 1871, so were probably well underway by the time Sears arrived in August (MWU, 9 June 1871, p. 2). The Normal School had contracted the previous May for the grounds to be fenced in with a plain wooden fence with a stile in front and private side and front gates. Walks had been laid out and the grounds graded (MWRv, 16 May 1871, p.3).

It can be concluded, then, that Sears arrived in a thriving, well-populated town that offered stores of all

descriptions, services of every kind, a town with a rich history of prairie life. Furthermore, that the citizens of Mankato were very supportive of education and proud of having obtained a state normal school for their city. In addition, Sears had friends in George and Elizabeth Gage, and Farmington graduates, Susie Dyer, Charles Boston, and George Ferguson (who died of typhoid fever in October of 1871), all of whom had followed Gage to Mankato and had taught at the Normal School there.

Teaching in Mankato, 1871-72

Fall and Spring Terms

The school year began on September 4, 1871, with a teachers' institute, organized by Horace B. Wilson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, held in the Normal School building (MWRv, 15 August 1871, p. 3). The institute was organized to instruct the common school teachers in the county in the art of teaching and to prepare them to receive a Certificate of Qualification to teach (MWRv, 29 August 1871, p. 3). All Normal School students and teachers took part in the institute. During the two-day session, Sears taught reading and primary drawing. Charles A. Boston, a graduate of Farmington Normal School and former teacher at Mankato Normal School, was also in attendance (MWU, 15 September 1871, p. 3).

When classes began, the faculty included Gage (Principal), Sears (astronomy and civil government), Mary S.

Rowland, Calista Andrews (calisthenics), Samuel Weigel (Music), William Lyon (Penmanship), A. Ella Clark (Intermediate Model) and Annie V. Whittier (Primary) (MWRv, 5 September 1871, p. 3). There were reportedly 110 pupils in the normal department (MWRc, 7 October 1871, p. 2). Sears' classroom was on the second floor of the building (MWU, 24 November 1971, p. 3).

In November the state governor's race once again resulted in the selection of a Republican candidate: Horace Austin. In Blue Earth County, Austin won by a slim majority of six votes, so evenly was the county divided between Democrats and Republicans (White, Brookins, Cannon, Gilman, Homquist & Kidder, 1977). Local newspapers chose political sides providing lively debates in the community.

By December, the Prudential Committee was authorized by the State Board to get the normal school building properly heated. In addition to repairs to the existing furnace, a change to the ventilation system and an additional furnace were considered (MWRv, 12 December 1871, p.2). The purchase of 50 desks was also authorized. The total enrollment was reported as: normal department, 198; model department 174; with a total of 372.

The Fall term ended December 15. The newspapers reported that

> Miss Sears...[had] been successful to a high degree...The friends of education throughout the state are to be congratulated in having so competent, enthusiastic and lady-like a teacher as Miss Sears in this institution for

the training of teachers. (MWRv, 19 December 1871, p. 2)

By mid-December, local newspapers were requesting more state appropriations for the normal schools in the state, stating

> We believe it to be the duty of the people of this county and of all other counties to support Normal Schools; and we also believe it to be the duty of Normal Schools to see that common schools have qualified teachers, and not promises of them merely. (MWRv, 19 December 1871, p. 1)

Throughout the month, the journalists fought with words over which of the three normal schools in the state was necessary to be retained and which others could be closed without notice. Some stated that many normal school students were "sons and daughters of the wealthy class of the people who are not dependent upon teaching school for a living" (Beaver, 1872). Supporters of Mankato Normal School argued that 70 of the 122 students attending Mankato Normal School in the spring of 1872 were children of farmers (MWRv, 9 January 1872, p.2). It was true that few graduates made their living as teachers, however. Of the first 95 graduates of Mankato Normal School (1870-1875), only 10% made teaching a permanent profession. Forty-six of the 70 women quit teaching to marry within three to five years after graduation, and 23 of the 25 men quit teaching (Riege, 1954). However, often women who left teaching to marry, returned to teaching at a later date as their life cycles changed (Cordier, 1992). Men rarely returned to teaching, but went

into business or other professions that would raise them socially and financially.

Following the end of the Fall term, Sears remained in Mankato. It would have been too long a trip back to Massachusetts for the short three-week holiday. Just before Christmas, Sears reviewed Henry Ward Beecher's new book, *Life of Jesus Christ*, for the newspaper. Henry Beecher was a feminist and was often quoted in the local newspapers. The book was being pushed for sale for the holidays. Sears' review was enthusiastic and full of praise for Beecher and for the book, which she said "reached the heart" (MWRv, 19 December 1871, p. 2). This was one of only two instances where Sears ventured into the newspapers on a non-school related matter.

The second instance occurred during the winter break when, on New Year's evening, the Mankato Reading Sociable met for their weekly meeting. Gage was in charge of the program that evening and enlisted the assistance of some of his teachers. Music was performed, and a Longfellow piece ("The Old Clock on the Stairs") was rendered, but the main reading was a presentation of the two first sets of *Coriolanus*. Characters were represented by Gage, Chandler, three local ministers, Rowland, Sears, and others. The comedy "Apples and Pop Corn" was then presented by everyone (MWU, 5 January 1982, p. 3). It is unknown whether or not Sears was a regular member of the Reading Sociable, however her name is

not mentioned in any other notice of the Sociable's meetings throughout her two years in Mankato.

The citizens of Mankato cared deeply for their Normal School teachers, supporting them in their endeavors to make Mankato Normal School the best in the state. Their care and support was never more clearly proven that winter than when Annie Whittier, the Model School teacher, lost her pocket book containing $60. A number of businessmen and friends donated enough to reimburse Whittier and presented the money to her as a New Year's present; her purse was never returned (MWU, 5 January 1872, p. 3).

The Spring term at the Normal School began January 8, 1872, with 122 students in the normal department, including quite a few new students (MWU, 12 January 1872). The average age of the students was 18.6 years, and they represented 19 counties (MWRv, 19 December 1871, p. 2; MWU, 12 January, p. 3). The new furnace had been added, the old furnace reset, and the desks had arrived.

By January some citizens in the state were suggesting that the Mankato Normal School be made into a soldier's orphan asylum (MWU 26 January 1872, p.2). Once again the newspapers went into action, stating "We paid $5,000 to the State for a Normal school to be established in this city, and not removed for ten years, and we propose to hold the State to the letter of the contract" (MWU, 26 January 1872, p. 2). Others argued "it is now very generally conceded that the

establishment of state normal schools was a mistake," and suggesting that the school at Winona be made into an institution for the blind, the one at Mankato into a state reform school and the one at St. Cloud abandoned altogether (St. Peter T., 31 January 1872, p. 2).

Faculty salaries at Mankato Normal School ranged from $450 to $1,000 per year, while Principal George Gage earned a salary of $2,000 per year. However the normal schools in the state were running at a deficit and teacher salaries were being withheld. In order to save expenses, Gage suggested eliminating the model schools (MWU, 2 February 1872, p. 2).

The State Normal School Board requested further appropriations from the legislature, from $15,000 to $25,000 (MWRv, 9 January 1872, p. 1). At that time, Wisconsin appropriated $12,000 annually for its schools, Michigan, $15,000 and Illinois, $31,445 [MWU, 2 February 1872, p. 2 gives $21,445 for Illinois] (MWRv, 23 January 1872, p. 1). By the end of February the appropriations bill for the schools passed through the legislature by a vote of 65 to 28 (Minnesota, 1873b, p. 181; MWRv, 27 February, p. 2). This bill raised the appropriation to Mankato from $5,000 to $9,000, but this was for only one year (MWU, 1 March 1872, p. 3).

On February 8, 1872, the educational committees of both houses, State officers, and other invited guests were invited to Mankato to inspect the Normal School.

Approximately 80 guests arrived by special train and were met at the depot by a large group of citizens. They were then driven around the town in sleighs and treated to a large banquet at Mankato House. A visit was then made to the Normal School, where students presented music, recitations, and readings. Questions from the visitors were entertained and statistics on the school given. However most of the time was given up to speeches and expressed opinions of the visitors upon the subject of the need for normal schools. Sears had "no opportunity to show the proficiency of her classes in Astronomy and Civil Government" (MWRv, 13 February 1872, p. 2).

It was fortunate that this visit was made on February 8, because four days later Mankato experienced the worst snow storm since 1866. The mails did not arrive from St. Paul for two days, and the snow along the railroad lines was up to fourteen feet in some places. (St. Peter T., 14 February 1872, p. 3). Eleven persons were lost and frozen (MWRv, 27 February 1872, p. 1). The snow continued to cause problems through March, interrupting trains because of snow drifts. "In some of the railway cuts, it was twenty feet deep" (Hughes, 1909, p. 174). Deer were driven from the timber back of Mankato into residential areas (Hughes, 1909). The Spring thaws that year brought more than the usual flooding problems.

By May, 22 students were ready to graduate from Mankato Normal School. Graduation was set for May 16 and 17 (MWU, 3 May 1872, p.3; MWU, 10 May 1872, p. 3). As previously, graduation exercises included both examinations and graduation ceremonies. Of the 22 students who graduated, 17 were females and five were males (MWU, 10 May 1872, p. 3; MRc, 11 May 1872, p. 1). Sears examined the class in astronomy on Friday morning, May 17 and conducted a lesson on civil government. The *Mankato Weekly Union* describes her astronomy examination thus: "Diagrams explanatory of the lesson were placed on the board with skill and celerity, and questions answered promptly and correctly " (MWU, 24 May 1872, p. 3). The examinations and graduation exercises were followed by a production of the cantata, "Haymakers," performed by the graduating class. Graduates that year accepted teaching positions in 15 counties, an increase of nine over the previous year's class (Riege, 1954).

On May 20, Sears and the other teachers of the normal school, along with the graduating class and advanced students, travelled by train to Winona to attend the annual State Normal Institute for two weeks. Along the way, their train car jumped the track "and ran some little distance on the ties but with no damage to any one except a slight shaking up" (MWRc, 25 May 1982, p.2). After Sears returned to Mankato at the end of May, she travelled on to Massachusetts for summer vacation with her family. On June 4

the State Normal School Board had reelected her as First Assistant at her previous salary of $1,000 for the coming year. The only other assistant to be so highly paid was Mr. W. F. Lyon, the teacher of penmanship who had received a $500 raise (MWRc, 8 June 1872, p. 3; SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 134). No reasoning for Lyon's large raise was given in the Board minutes.

Summer 1872

In June the salaries of all normal school principals in Minnesota were equalized at $2,500 per year, an increase of $500 over the resolution passed on February 24, 1872 (SNSB, 11 March 1872; SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 134; MWRv, 11 June 1872, p. 3; MWU, 14 June 1872, p. 3). Some citizens thought that this was "evidence of Republican extravagance" (MWRc, 3 August 1872, p. 2). This new annual salary for principals remained stable until 1875, when it was decreased to $2,000 (Youel, 1968). Some members of the Board wanted the election of the principals to be permanent, but this suggestion was referred to committee where it stayed (SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 131).

At the June meeting, The Prudential Committee for Mankato Normal School was set. Members for 1872-73 were Daniel Buck (Chairman), George W. Austin (Treasurer), Clark Kayser, and John H. Ray (SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 135). This turned out to be the last Prudential Committee that Mankato would have.

On June 17, George M. Gage was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction of St. Paul (MWU 21 June 1872, p. 3; MWRc, 22 June 1872, p. 3; MWRv, 25 June 1872, p.; St. Peter T., 26 June 1872, p. 3). His salary of $2,500 was the same he would have received had he remained at Mankato.

By July 26, it was announced that Mankato Normal School, in spite of the increase in appropriation, was $2,000 in arrears for the current year (MWU, 26 July 1872, p. 3). The $9,000 appropriation had been used mostly to pay the debts and to defray expenses up to the end of the school year (MWRv, 30 July 1872, p. 3). Basically, the school was running with an annual expense of approximately $8,000 on a normal appropriation of only $5,000 (Brown, 1872). In addition, previous year's unpaid debts had been building up.

A very public argument then ensued in the newspapers between the former chairman of the Prudential Committee, James Brown, and the current chairman, Daniel Buck. It was the opinion of the *Mankato Weekly Union* that unless the citizens of Mankato "bear the expenses of the school until December, it [would] not open" (MWU, 26 July 1872, p. 3). According to Daniel Buck, Chairman of the Prudential Committee, the school required a little over $1,000 in addition to what was in the treasury "to run the school to the first of January" (MWRv, 30 July 1872, p. 3). However, the State Normal School Board did wish the school to open on time and some citizens felt that it was the duty of the

Prudential Committee to see that this happened (MWRv, 30 July 1872, p. 3). In early August, it was announced that the school would open at the usual time, and that "arrangements [would] be made to cut down the corps of teachers, and so economize as to bring the expenses very nearly within the appropriation" (MWU, 2 August 1872, p. 3).

Gage's replacement as principal had not yet been chosen. The *Mankato Weekly Record* gave the opinion that because Gage had been so successful, "his successor [would] probably find it no easy task to maintain the splendid reputation acquired for it under Prof[essor] Gage's management" (MWRc, 27 July 1872, p. 1). On August 6, the newspapers were speculating as to who would be the new principal: "We are not informed as to who is to be placed in charge of the school, but presume Miss Sears will discharge the duties as principal" (MWRv, 6 August 1872, p. 3).

On August 9 it was announced that Sears had been hired as principal at a salary of $1,500 and was expected to arrive the following week. Sears had been hired as principal for $1,000 less than the agreed upon salary for each of the normal school principals in the state, $1,000 less than Gage was to have been paid. However, the principals had always been men, and no stipulation had been made for possible female principals in the June 1872 resolution which raised the principals' salaries to $2,500. Schools traditionally paid women less "because it was understood that they worked

temporarily only until they married, and because they had no family to support" (Cottrell, 1993, p. 12). Paying Sears less than Gage resulted in saving the school $1,000 of its budget. The next day, the newspaper ran the following announcement from Chairman Buck:

> Having made satisfactory arrangements, whereby the running expenses of our Normal School will be reduced between two and three thousand dollars per annum, the School will open August 27th, 1872, with an able and efficient corps of teachers, with Miss Julia A. Sears as Principal. Mankato, August 7th, 1872. (MWRc, 10 August 1872, p. 3)

Gage, in his farewell address published August 31, evinced much confidence in Sears, stating

> No truer lady, and no more faithful teacher is employed in any school of our country, than she. May her success be equal to her deserts, and may her faithful co-laborers in the school be duly appreciated and sustained. (MWRc, 31 August 1872, p. 2)

By September, Gage had also become an associate editor and proprietor of the *Minnesota Teacher* (St. Peter T., 25 September 1872, p. 2).

Sears as Principal, 1872-73

Status of Women in the 1870s

In the late nineteenth century, education and career opportunities for American women were opening rapidly. During the 1860s and 1870s many new coeducational institutions of higher education were established, due in part to the Morrill Land Grant Act and in part to women suffragists who saw education as the "route to sexual

equality" (Woloch, 1994), p. 277). By 1870 eight state universities admitted women; 200 women were enrolled in these institutions (Woloch, 1994; Newcomer, 1959). In 1870 when one percent of all college-age Americans attended higher education, 21% of these were women (Cottrell, 1993; Woloch, 1994). Of these 11,000 women students, 5,000 were in normal schools (Newcomer, 1959). Professions acceptable for women in the late nineteenth century included teaching, nursing, library work, social work, and academic life (Woloch, 1994).

As Sears stated in her speech to the female graduates in December of 1872,

> you are stepping out into life at a time when you hear not the sound "thus far in education may you go and no farther, this place you may fill, but not that"; but, instead, Universities and Colleges open wide their doors and bid you enter, and any place you are fitted to fill is no longer denied you. (Sears, J. A., 1872a, p. 2)

To the female students at Mankato Normal School, Sears was a model example of what they could achieve within the field of education.

In Minneapolis, the *Tribune* stated that "of the one hundred best educators in Minnesota, ninety-five are women. Why should women be ineligible to election to our School Boards?" (Minneapolis Tribune, 2 September 1873, p. 2). The *Minneapolis Times* followed suit in their statement "Verily, it is about time the women educators of the State were admitted to positions on a few of the 'Boards' that have charge of [education's] great interest!" (Minneapolis Daily

Evening Times [Minn. Times], 25 September 1873, p. 1). It was not until 1875 that Minnesota gave women the school vote --a limited suffrage to widows in country districts who had children of school age (Flexner, 1959, p. 179).

Sarah Grimke', an abolitionist and feminist who died in 1873, said "whatever is right for man to do, is right for woman to do" (Woloch, 1992, p. 342). But this was not the majority opinion of the general population. Women were still struggling against general societal opinion in order to take advantage of these new opportunities. The general public, privately and publicly, still derided women who strayed from home and hearth, as can be seen in the *St. Peter Tribune* statement of January 1, 1873: "Three hundred bloodthirsty women want to be doctors in San Francisco" (St. Peter T., 1 January 1873, p. 2).

In 1873, Dr. Edward Clarke of Boston published his treatise on the education of women, *Sex in Education*. This book, which caused a great deal of controversy amongst educated women and men throughout the country, went through 17 editions--12 in the first year, the second edition coming out in little more than a week after the first (Clarke, 1873/1972; Evans, 1989; McGill, 1989). Clarke believed women were not inferior to men, but that their education demanded a different sort of training, that they could be taught the same subjects, but that they must be taught with different methods. His case studies centered on women students who

became ill from long hours of study, which he claimed would eventually cause sterility (Clarke, 1873/1972). "Clarke recommended that women study one-third less than men, and not at all during menstruation, when complete rest was indicated" (Woloch, 1992, p. 445). He believed that four conditions for girls must be observed if they were to succeed in education: 1) sufficient nutriment, 2) normal management of reproductive system, 3) mental and physical work apportioned so that repair exceeds waste, and 4) sufficient sleep (Clarke, 1873/1972). Julia Ward Howe published a rebuttal to Clarke in 1874, stating that Clarke seemed to both dislike and hold contempt for women (Howe, 1874). Reverend Olympia Brown (a graduate of Antioch College, the first woman ordained by the Universalist Church, and an ardent suffragist) concurred with Howe stating that "the ill-health of the women of our time is not due to the want of regularity in study: it is due to the want of regularity, and want of aim and purpose, and want of discipline" (Woloch, 1992, p. 452; Stratton, 1981). And so the dispute continued.

Even the U. S. Supreme Court saw fit to rule in the Myra Bradwell case of 1873 that "the delicacy and timidity of the female sex 'unfit it for many of the occupations of civil life'" (Woloch, 1994, p. 283; Flexner, 1959). Bradwell, who had been denied admission to the Illinois bar, was not admitted until 1890 and even then was excluded from courtroom practice (Woloch, 1994). Then in July 1873 a woman (Dr. Mary

E. Walker) was appointed to a clerkship in the U. S. Treasury (Faribault Democrat, 18 July 1873,p. 2).

Only a few women in the United States had been leaders in education administration. At Vassar, where faculty members were male and female, it was believed that the president and board of trustees, the higher academic posts, should be held by males (Flexner, 1959). Of the 36 state normal schools in 1870, only one was headed by a female: Annie Johnson, an 1865 graduate of Farmington Normal School and former student of Gage. Johnson was principal of Framingham Normal School in Massachusetts, a normal school for females (MWRv, 24 January 1871, p.1). She later served as principal of Bradford Academy (Purington, 1889). In the West, Anna Brackett had been Principal of the St. Louis Normal School (a city-supported school for women) from 1860 to 1871 and Frances Willard had become President of Evanston College for Ladies in February of 1871 (Ohles, 1978; McGee, 1979). In Minneapolis, a woman (Miss Abbott) was principal of the Minneapolis High School, so women were beginning to move upward in administration even in Minnesota (St. Peter T., 1 January, 1873, p. 2).

Sears was entering a leadership position in an acceptable field for women, however, the leadership role she expected to play was not yet acceptable for women in nineteenth century Minnesota, and she had no female role model to guide her. No woman had led a state normal school

in Minnesota; it would be another 100 years before a woman would again lead the school in Mankato.

First Term, Fall 1872

The Normal School opened Tuesday, August 27, 1872, with Sears as Principal, W. F. Lyon, Superintendent of Building and Teacher of Penmanship, Samuel M. Weigel and Arietta Wagner, Teachers of Music, Calista Andrews, Assistant Instructor and Teacher of Calisthenics, Mary S. Rowland (replaced by Miss Carrie P. Townsend within two weeks), and Martha H. Seward, Assistant Instructors and A. Ella Clark, Model (Intermediate) School (Sears, J. A., 1873c). The only changes on the faculty were the resignation of Annie Whittier, due to the discontinuance of the Model Primary School, the hiring of Martha Seward (a Mankato Normal School graduate), and the hiring of Arietta Wagner as an additional music teacher. No fewer faculty were hired than the previous year. There were 50 students in attendance on the first day of the Fall term, but this number more than doubled in the next two months as students returned (MWU, 30 August 1872, p. 3). By October, there were 112 students in regular attendance (MWU, 25 October 1872, p. 3). The majority of the students that year were female between the ages of 17 and 19 and most had taught school before entering the Normal School (Anderson, 1987).

On October 25, 1872, the members of the State Board of Health (Dr. A. W. Daniels of St. Peter and Dr. C N. Hewitt of

Red Wing) and Dr. Reynolds of Pottsdam, New York, made an official visit to the Normal School. The visit was successful, and the doctors were pleased with Sears' successful management of the school (MWRv, 29 October 1872, p. 3).

Winter came early to Blue Earth County in 1872, with snow blockades along the railroads in early November. That month the newspapers were full of news of the presidential election and of the great Boston fire, which must have been of particular interest to Sears, having just spent three years living in Boston. The newspapers of Mankato, typical of other parts of the country, published long articles on Greeley and Grant, each vying for the most votes in the upcoming election. News of some women becoming actively involved in the 1872 presidential election added a new dimension to politics that year. Women made the news in other ways, too, from lectures on female suffrage, temperance and compulsory education to the invention by Kate Barton of an improvement to sewing machines that would allow for the sewing of heavy materials, such as sails (MWRv, 26 November 1872, p. 2).

Minnesota did not have female suffrage, but Wyoming and Utah had given women the vote in 1870 (Wolfe, 1982). Since 1867, Mary Colburn and Sarah Burger Stearns (the first woman to petition for admission to the University of Michigan) had been petitioning and speaking to the

Minnesota House of Representatives urging an extension of the right of suffrage to females (Minnesota, 1867; Du Bois, 1978). Lectures and petitions against liquor were also scheduled as early as 1867. Yet strong organizations for female suffrage and temperance were not organized in Minnesota until later, with Mankato organizing an affiliate of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1878 (Flexner, 1959; Mankato Free Press [MFP], 27 June 1952, p. 4).

The Republican party in a resolution adopted in Philadelphia agreed to be "mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America...equal rights should be treated within respectful consideration" (Anthony, 1954, pp. 273-274). In 1872 Victoria Woodhull announced herself a presidential candidate for the Equal Rights Party (Dorr, 1928). On election day, November 5, approximately 100 women throughout the United States tried to vote in the presidential election, but no woman tried to do so in Minnesota (Catt & Shuler, 1923). Susan B. Anthony and fourteen other women were arrested on Thanksgiving Day and fined $100 because they had attemped to vote in New York (St. Peter T., 1 January 1873, p. 2; MWRv, 24 June 1873, p. 3).

Grant won the 1872 presidential election and Greeley died very shortly thereafter. In Blue Earth County, the votes were evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, with Grant (Republican) drawing a slight majority of the votes (1,906 to 1,617) (Hughes, 1909; White, et al., 1977).

The election for U. S. Representative in the First District was won by Mark Dunnell (Republican), the Maine educator who had brought so many teachers from Farmington. Dunnell was to remain in office for twelve years (White, et al., 1977).

Through the political events of the Fall, the Normal School continued to run smoothly under Sears' guidance. As principal, Sears was permitted to attend the State Normal School Board meetings. Gage had attended them. However, Sears appears to have attended only the December 2, 1872, meeting during her tenure. At this meeting the board reported that it had received no financial report from Mankato Normal School from 30 November 1871 to 8 June 1872, and gave the treasurer of its Prudential Committee (Austin) one week to produce one (SNSB, 2 Dec. 1872). This financial report had been the responsibility of the Prudential Committee and the former principal, Gage. Each principal and Prudential Committee was instructed to furnish a "schedule of the amount of money necessary to provide for the current expenses of the school next year" for the State Normal School Board president, and to pay its debts (SNSB, 2 Dec. 1872). Mankato Normal School was seriously criticized throughout most of the 1870s for its quality, managerial competence and student standards (Mitau, 1977). Sears' name does not appear in the list of attendees for any other State Normal School Board meeting that year (SNSB, 1873).

In her annual report, written in November 1872 to the Normal School Board, Sears stated that, contrary to the practice of the other normal schools in the state, no class was graduated at Mankato Normal School in December of 1871. Due to the difficulty of obtaining jobs so late in the year, the students, themselves, decided to remain in school another term. This represented a departure from the practice of the other state normal schools in Minnesota. To Sears, this course of action was supported by the highest ideals, and certainly would correspond with her high standards for teachers. As she stated in her report, "the mere matter of graduation and having a diploma in possession, was not the end sought, but the most thorough preparation possible for the work before them, and we think they will amply repay the State for the little trespass on its hospitality" (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 263).

However there was a graduation during Sears' tenure the following winter, on December 19 and 20, 1872. Nine students (two males and seven females) were graduated (MWU, 6 December 1872, p. 3; MWRv, 31 December 1872, p. 1). This was the first semi-annual graduation at Mankato and was held in the Normal Hall of the school (MWU, 6 December 1872, p. 3). The newspapers reported that the school under Sears was "running smoothly and making excellent advancement (MWU, 6 December 1872, p. 3). "The enthusiasm, spirit, promptness and accuracy so characteristic of Miss Sears, was in a large

degree infused into the assistant teachers, and into the scholars" (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 2). Sears' "rare experience, ripe scholarship, [and] work was judged thoroughly done, and [her work] stands as a guaranty of as faithful services in the future" (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 2). As the *Mankato Weekly Review* stated, "We must score one for woman, and say that Miss Sears, the Principal, is a success" (MWRV, 31 December 1872, p. 1). Sears was presented with two chromos and a volume of Byron's poems by the assistant teacher and students (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 3).

By Christmas, citizens of Mankato had matters other than the Normal School to think about. The horse disease, epizooty, made its appearance before Christmas that year, and Mankatoans and those of surrounding communities were busy battling the disease. Although not necessarily fatal, epizooty was a disease that caused considerable concern in a time of history when the horse remained the primary mode of transportation (St. Peter T., 18 December 1872, p. 3).

Second Term, Spring 1873

The spring term at the normal school began on Tuesday, January 7, 1873 (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 3). There were 132 students in the Normal Department, with 54 in the entering class. The students came from 20 counties in Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Ohio and Vermont.

On that same day, the worst blizzard since 1865 hit Blue Earth County. The morning had been mild and pleasant

and it almost seemed as though a thaw was on its way. By noon the sky had changed and a wall of snow was rapidly approaching (Rose, 1963). Blinding snow and an 180 mph wind hit suddenly from the southwest. By three o'clock in the afternoon, the sun began to disappear and "darkness settled over the earth like a pall, bringing with it intense cold" (MWRv, 14 January, 1873, p. 3). The following day was much the same: windy, snowy and dark. The blizzard raged continually for five days. It was difficult to even recognize houses across the street from one another. Snow crept in through every crack and crevice in the buildings and houses. Stores and offices were open only part of each day (MWRv, 14 January 1873, p. 3). Citizens of Mankato and surrounding towns were lost between house and barn, trains were snowbound for several days and did not arrive in Mankato from St. Paul or Winona for five days, public schools were closed, and families on the prairie were cut off from the rest of the world (St. Peter T., 8 January 1873, p. 3; MWU, 17 January 1873, p. 3).

Temperatures continued to drop to 37 degrees below zero by the 21st of January (MWRv, 21 January 1873, p. 3). The storms raged into February with mail service being interrupted for five consecutive days some weeks; when the mail did arrive, it often came by sleigh (MWRv, 4 February 1873, p. 3; Hughes, 1909). Seventy persons in the state died and 31 were seriously injured; 250 cattle and 25 horses died

(Hughes, 1909). In Blue Earth County only one person died and one was seriously injured by the great storm, still it was a hard winter for Mankato residents that year (St. Peter T., 12 March 1873, p. 2). Spring brought the inevitable floods (Hughes, 1909).

Through all the storms, the students of the Normal School continued their coursework. Beginning with the Spring term, Sears instituted a special class which today higher education might call a developmental class. This class was designed for those entering students "who [were] not sufficiently advanced in the studies of the common school to enter the normal class and take the studies prescribed for the first term of the normal course" (Sears, Julia, 1872b). The students were to be trained to teach primary school.

Equipment was ordered for the school, including "philosophical and chemical apparatus, anatomical models, and a small cabinet of minerals" (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 265). In the spring, the blackboards were reslated (MWU, 14 March 1873, p. 3). It was a good beginning for Sears. In her opinion, "entire harmony and good feeling ...existed between committee, teachers and students...[and was] in all respects very pleasant, and... as *profitable* as pleasant" (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 265). The State Board, in its report stated that Sears was "doing excellent service, and [was], in the highest degree, satisfactory to all concerned" (Minnesota, 1872, p. 238). By March, the Senate Normal School

appropriation bill was passed by the Minnesota legislature, awarding Mankato Normal School with $5,000 for that year only (St. Peter T., 5 March, 1873, p. 2). Sears was given assurances by all around her that she had succeeded in her position as Principal of the Normal School.

The spring graduation ceremonies at Mankato Normal School took place on Thursday, May 15, 1873. The graduation class consisted of 24 students, 12 females and 12 males, which was an unusual ratio for normal schools (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3). The normal schools in Winona and St. Cloud graduated 13 and 10 students, respectively (St. Peter T., 28 May 1873, p. 2). Once again the abilities of women were questionned in the newspapers: The *Mankato Weekly Union* writer was pleased to see the number of males in the graduating class, stating that "men are better qualified for government in the large winter schools" and that "education received by young men permeates further into the business relations of the community, than that received by the ladies, and therefore effects to more purpose the general standard of intelligence" (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3).

Graduation addresses at Mankato were offered by Professors Horace B. Wilson, Superintendant of Public Instruction, and Gage, followed by the annual report by Sears and the presentation of diplomas. Gage also gave a public address that evening after the first alumni association meeting, as part of the day's ceremonies (MWRv, 20 May 1873,

p. 3). Graduates that year accepted teaching positions in ten counties of Minnesota (Riege, 1954).

On May 19, 1873, four days after graduation, Sears boarded the morning train with Carrie Townsend, her first Assistant, to travel home to Massachusetts for summer vacation (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3). At the same time, Sears' Assistant, W. F. Lyon, and Calista Andrews left Mankato; it was speculated that they would not return to the school (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3). The following week, Daniel Buck resigned from the State Normal School Board, and George W. Austin was appointed in his place as Resident Director for Mankato Normal School (MWU, 30 May 1873, p. 3; St. Peter T., 4 June 1873, p. 2; MWU, 6 June 1873, p. 3).

Summer 1873

In June, the local Prudential Committees governing the state normal schools were abolished by the State Normal School Board through an act approved March 7, 1873 (Minnesota, 1873b, p. 92). Six directors for the State Normal School Board were appointed; the Superintendent of Public Instruction was one of these six. One director was appointed from each county of Blue Earth, Winona, and Stearns counties. Daniel Buck had been appointed local member for Blue Earth County, but was replaced by George Austin in May. By the same Act, the name of the school at Mankato changed from Second State Normal School to Mankato Normal School (MWU, 14 march, 1873, p. 3). On June 3, 1873, the new board

met for the first time and elected George Gage president. Austin was appointed to the Standing Committee on the Employment of Teachers and was "authorized to go east to engage teachers" (SNSB, 3 June, 1873, p. 14; MWRv, 10 June 1873, p. 3). The Standing Committee on Grievances that year included: Niles, Smith, and Kiehle (SNSB, 3 June 1873, p. 14).

A few weeks after her return to Massachusetts, Sears was informed by Austin that she would probably be replaced by a man and was asked if she would accept the Assistant Principal position and if so, at what salary (Sears, J. A., 1873a). Sears was surprised as there had been no indication that her appointment as principal was not to be continued. By the end of June, the public learned that Sears would, indeed, be replaced as Principal with "a gentleman" (MWU, 27 June 1873, p. 3). It was determined by the board that in the interest of the school, the principal should be a man (Minn. Times, 27 September 1873, p. 1). According to the *Mankato Weekly Union*,

> it seems to have been demonstrated last year, that there are some duties pertaining to that position which a lady could not, or would not desire to perform...A woman's a woman for all that, and ...her delicate organism does not admit of a faithful performance of many of the details for which a man seems best suited. (MWU, 27 June 1873, p. 3)

Sears was to be offered her former position of First Assistant (Assistant Principal).

Sears initially refused the position of Assistant Principal, when Austin offered it to her in June, as she felt that "if [her] services as Principal had not been performed acceptably, [she] did not wish to continue in the school" (Sears, J. A., 1873b). Austin wrote again to Sears stating that her services had been acceptable, and telling the Board's reason for replacing her as Principal. He then informed her that if she accepted the position of Assistant Principal, the teaching "would be the same as before, and [her] salary $1,500," the same as her salary when she was Principal. She then accepted the position (Sears, J. A., 1873b).

On July 22, 1873, the State Normal School Board with the recommendation of the Employment of Teachers Committee elected David Clarke John as principal of the Mankato Normal School at a salary of $2,500 for 1873-74 (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145). Other candidates that were considered included C. W. G. Hyde and W. Lyon (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145). John was an 1859 graduate of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania and was supposedly employed by Millersville Normal School of Pennsylvania (now Millersville University) at the time of his move to Minnesota (MWU, 27 June 1873, p. 3). However Millersville University has no record of John as either a faculty member or a student between 1860 and 1873 (Millersville University, 1995). Furthermore, a biographical sketch in the Dickinson College Archives indicates that John

served as pastor and supernumerary at the Methodist-Episcopal Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania from 1859-1873 (Dickinson College, 1995). John appears to have had *no* teaching or normal school experience when he came to Mankato in 1873. How had John come to the position? Was he recruited by Austin, a fellow Methodist-Episcopalian, or by Hon. Thomas Simpson, another Methodist-Episcopalian who was a member of the State Normal School Board?

At the July 22 meeting, Sears was elected First Assistant (Assistant Principal) at a salary of $1,200, the newly fixed salary for first assistants in all three state normal schools (MWRv, 29 July, 1873, p. 3; MWRc, 26 July 1873, p. 2; SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 144). It was stipulated that, if Sears did not accept, the position would go to Mr. C. W. G. Hyde of Shakopee. Other teachers employed included Helen M. Phillips (Principal of the Milwaukee Female College), Defransa Hall (Oswego N.Y. Normal School), Laura Hand (Mankato graduate), and Jennie Lambie (Mankato graduate)(MWRc, 26 July 1873, p. 2; MWRv, 29 July 1973, p. 3; SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145; Riege, 1954). At the end of July, Austin wrote to Sears to inform her that her salary would be only $1,200, and apologized for the change. John also wrote to Sears urging her return (Sears, J. A., 1873b).

On 3 August 1873, Sears wrote to her friends, George and Elizabeth Gage:

> I have expected until lately to see you again, sometime about Christmas and took it for granted I should have an

> invitation if I was at Mankato but as I shall not be there, I do not know when I shall meet you again...I do not think I have been justly treated at Mankato when I was assured again and again by officials and non-officials, of my success last year, then to be willing to give me no more than they would a stranger after the agreement had been made is not exactly pleasing to me. (SNSB, 5 Dec. 1873, p. 160)

Upon receipt of this letter on August 7, Gage wrote to the resident director, Austin:

> A letter received tonight from Miss Julia A. Sears informs me that she will not return to Mankato. The first assistant's place therefore falls to Mr. C. W. G. Hyde. (SNSB, 5 December 1873, p. 160)

Meanwhile, Sears considered Austin's offer of $1,200 and the short time of only two weeks before her journey was to begin. She decided to write to Austin, expressing her dissatisfaction at the reduction in salary, but that due to the lateness in the summer, she would agree to return to Mankato for only half a year, if they wished, with the option of then leaving the position if she so desired (Sears, J. A., 1873b). On 6 August, Sears again wrote to Gage:

> Dear Mr. Gage,
>
> I wrote you a few days ago saying I would not return to Mankato. I thought then I should not although I had not answered Mr. Austin's letter stating a change in salary. I have been thinking that the Worcester Normal, Mass. would open in February and I would try for a situation there, and would not care to go into school this fall, but have heard within a few days that that school would probably not open for a year as they are to wait for another appropriation before they can finish the building. (SNSB, 5 Dec. 1873, p. 160)

But Austin had received the letter from Gage instructing him to hire Hyde and on August 9, 1873, he wrote to Hyde, who was in Sioux City, Iowa, at the time, offering him the position

of First Assistant at $1,200. After receiving Sears' letter, Austin was obviously in a quandary. He asked Gage for advice, advice which was not very helpful as it turned the situation right back into Austin's lap. However, Gage did give the opinion that he did not think changing teachers in the middle of the year was a good idea. Austin replied to Sears by telegram: "All right--come" (Sears, J. A., 1873b).

Austin then wrote to Hyde on the 14th and 15th of August, explaining that Sears was definitely coming to Mankato:

> On Saturday last I got word from Prof[essor] Gage that Miss Sears could not come, and immediately wrote to you. On Monday I received word from Miss Sears that she would come and expected to start for this place on Monday the 17th instant. As she is coming it will necessarily have you out. This is unavoidable and I hope will not cause you any trouble. (SNSB, 5 December 1873, p. 161)

However, Hyde had only just received Austin's letter of offer and had not had a chance to accept or decline the position (MWRv, 30 December 1873, p. 2). According to the *Mankato Weekly Review*, a meeting was then held in St. Paul between Austin, Gage, Hyde and Wilson (State Superintendant) where it was agreed that Sears could be First Assistant for six months, after which time Hyde would take over the position (MWRv, 30 December 1873, p. 2). All arrangements seem to have been made satisfactory, then, to teachers, the President of the State Normal School Board, the State Superintendant, and the Resident Director of the school.

Sears was due to arrive in Mankato the week of August 18, 1873, having left Massachusetts on August 17 (MWRv, 16 August 1873, p. 3; SNSB, 5 December 1873, p. 161). By the end of August, John had set renovations in motion at the school; rooms were repainted and carpeted, furniture was ordered, walls were papered and the roof was "painted in order to preserve it" (MWU, 29 August 1873, p. 3). He was also preaching in the Presbyterian Church in the absence of the regular minister (MWU, 29 August, 1873, p. 3). It was announced in the *Mankato Weekly Union* on August 29, 1873, that Sears was the Assistant Principal and Hyde was appointed to take the place of Laura Hand, who had taken a position in the public schools of St. Paul (MWU, 29 August 1873, p. 3; St. Peter T., 3 September 1873, p. 3). Opening Hand's position for Hyde had been arranged by Gage, Niles and Wilson; Hyde was offered a salary of $1,000 (MWU, 12 September 1873, p. 3).

All the teachers were already in Mankato "except Miss Sears and Mr. Hyde who [were] daily expected" (MWU, 29 August 1873, p. 3). Sears arrived the week of August 25 and the newspapers announced that "the many friends of this lady will be pleased to welcome her to Mankato again" (MWRv, 2 September 1873, p. 3).

On September 1, the school year began with 78 students in the Normal department and 36 in the model class (MWU, 5 September 1873, p. 3; MWU, 26 September 1873, p. 2). Sears

was at the school for one week before she knew that the position she held was also claimed by Hyde (Sears, J. A., 1873b).

Sears Rebellion

State Board Decision

The events that followed Sears' first week in school until her departure three weeks later, focused on a power struggle between the State Normal School Board, the citizens of Mankato, Principal John, and 40 Mankato Normal School students who went on strike. These weeks constituted what was known as the Sears Rebellion.

On September 3, George Austin left Mankato to meet his wife in Chicago where their four month old daughter had died suddenly (MWU, 5 September 1873, p. 3). Because Austin was in Chicago at the time, he was not in attendance at the meeting of the State Normal School board in Winona on September 4 when a resolution was passed offering the judgment that the position of First Assistant belonged to Hyde (MWRc, 13 September 1873, p. 3):

> Miss Julia A. Sears not having accepted the position in the State Normal School at Mankato which was tendered to her, Prof. C. W. G. Hyde is entitled to the position, and the Board hereby order that he be given possession thereof forthwith. (SNSB, 4 September 1873, p. 147)

Neither Gage nor Wilson were able to uphold the agreement they had made with Austin and Hyde (MWRv, 30 December 1873, p. 2). On 23 Sept. 1873, Gage wrote to Austin:

> It is certain that the Board as a Board will do nothing in regard to recognizing Miss Sears as being, or having been a teacher in the State Normal School at Mankato, the current year. With calling her for one half year, the Board will claim that it had nothing to do. I think it is proper for it to take this position. I hope so, most sincerely, as there have been no steps taken by persons who are members of the Board save yourself and me, we shall be able to manage the case, by ourselves, with wisdom. I am perfectly willing to leave the entire question of responsibility to some disinterested party, and when you have ascertained what pecuniary consideration will be satisfactory to Miss Sears, to bear a share of her expense which shall be proportionate to the estimated amount of my responsibility. I can think of no fairer proposition than this, and I shall be glad if a settlement can be effected soon. (SNSB, 5 Dec. 1873, p. 162)

The *Minneapolis Tribune* on October 1, 1873, agreed with the board's position, stating that the Board was organized the previous summer

> with the express design of giving it immediate supervision and control of the Normal Schools of the State..[and].. to prevent any member or subordinate committee, assuming responsibilites and binding the Board beyond specific instruction. (Minneapolis T., 1 October 1873, p. 2)

It was the opinion of the writer ("A Friend of Normal Schools") of this newspaper article that offers and promises made by individual members of the board without the authority of the board could not be acceptable as the responsibility of the board.

In St. Peter, a neighboring town north of Mankato, the press also took the side of the board, stating that "all connected feel somewhat embarassed" (St. Peter T., 17 September 1873, p. 3). However, St. Peter had long been a rival of Mankato for the location of the Normal School and

often criticized Mankato newspapers and citizens in matters of education (Anderson, 1987).

The action of the Board "caused a good deal of indignation among the friends of the school" (MWRv, 9 September 1873, p. 3). The teacher employed to succeed Hyde, when he would accept the position of assistant principal, (perhaps Addie M. Rowell, a graduate of Winona Normal School) refused to accept the appointment (MWRv, 9 September 1873, p. 3; Winona Daily Republican [Winona D. Rep.], 5 September 1873, p. 3). Hyde, meanwhile, stated that he was "willing to resume and occupy the position of assistant to Miss Sears for the term for which she [had] been engaged" (MWRv, 9 September 1873, p. 3).

The newspapers continued to battle the matter between them, using headlines such as "Normal school Matters--Miss Sears unceremoniously turned out--Prof. Weigel to go too--No Penmanship allowed--Indignation of the Public--A Revolt in the School, and Chaos Generally!" (MWU, 12 September 1873, p. 3). The Weigel and penmanship headlines referred to a new ruling by the State Board whereby one teacher of penmanship and one teacher of music would serve all three schools in the state (MWRv, 29 July 1873, p. 3). The *Mankato Weekly Union* went on to call the action of the Board "stupid" and to say that it all

> fell upon our citizens like a thunderbolt...So far as the action of the Normal Board is concerned, there is but one opinion, and that is that it was grossly injust [sic] to

> Miss Sears, and a serious blow to the school. (MWU, 12 September 1873, p. 3)

On September 16, 1873, the *Mankato Weekly Review* joined the indignation of the other newspapers in town, stating that the "mission [of the school] for good has been greatly impaired by a few evil disposed persons on the State board and outside of that body" (MWRv, 16 September 1873, p. 2). The *Minneapolis Times* agreed with the Mankato newpapers, stating that Sears

> has been very badly used by the Normal Board...Such shabby treatment of a lady who is universally admitted to be one of the best educators in the State, should meet with the severest reprobation by the people...The people of Mankato, and prominent educators all over the State, united in testifying to her ability, application and good judgment. (Minn. Times, 25 September 1873, p. 1)

Students Rebel

During the first week of September, 40 students asked Principal D. C. John to accept a petition "asking for the restoration of Miss Sears, and declar[ing] their intention of withdrawing until their request should be complied with" (Minnesota, 1873a, p. 890). Principal John asked the students to present their petition in an orderly manner and to remain in their duties until Austin's return. However, that night the pupils were "advised...to rebel" and the next morning the students met in a neighboring house and "pledged...to stand by each other to the bitter end" (John, 1873, p. 891). That evening John publicly suspended the students. He offered amnesty to those who would acknowledge

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

their error and promise obedience to the school. After five days, only a few returned to the school. According to John, the rebellion grew stronger with each passing day. In consequence, he expelled the rebellious students, 31 in all (nine had returned). Steps were taken to prevent the students from entering either of the other two state normal schools (MWRv, 16 September 1873, p. 2). The students subsequently published the following notice in the newspapers:

> Not wishing to have our action in withdrawing from the Normal School misstated, we would correct the errors in the *Union* of the 12th inst., as follows:
>
> Our petition to Prof[essor] John asking him to use his best endeavors to have the action of the Normal Board reversed, was kindly received by him, and his sympathy and assistance promised us without any conditions whatever.
>
> When the vote was taken, as to how many would remain in school until the matter was settled, Prof[essor] John expressed his regret that the vote of the whole school was not more unanimous, and called for a second vote; many of those that withdrew refused to vote.
>
> None of our number were in the school building the morning we withdrew when the bell rung, and very few went in at all that morning.
>
> As soon as possible after withdrawing, we sent a committee to Prof[essor] John, not "to parley with him," but to assure him our action meant no disrespect to him or the other teachers, and he must not interpret our action as such, but we thought it was the best way to secure our desired object. He told us we were suspended, and could not return until we made an apology. STUDENTS. (MWRc, 13 September 1873, p. 2)

During one of the students' meetings, Sears visited the students and urged them, "for [their] own good and as a

personal favor to her to return to school until the Board could act" (MWRv, 23 September 1873). She reasoned with them for an entire morning. However the students decided to stick together and not to return to the school (MWRv, 23 September 1873, p. 2). Several students eventually went into business and others entered Carleton College and other schools (Hughes, 1909).

Citizen Outcry

The citizens of Mankato then took action by circulating petitions, asking Hyde to retain his position as teacher and demanding the retention of Sears. Hyde agreed to do so and wrote to Gage stating his willingness in the matter. On September 8, a formal petition was written in support of Sears, requesting that the Board rescind its resolution of September 4, and that Sears be reinstated as Assistant Principal. It was signed by 66 citizens of Mankato. Supporters included Daniel Buck, James Brown, J. Wiswell, and Henry Shaubut, as well as many other prominent businessmen in the community.

On Tuesday, September 23, Sears left Mankato to return to her sisters' home in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. The previous evening a small farewell was organized in her honor at the home of W. L. DeGraff, Esq. The *Mankato Weekly Union* later stated that

> as a scholar of the finest attainments, and a teacher of superior qualifications, she has achieved a reputation second to none other in the

> State. This entire community will heartily unite with us in wishing her all the prosperity and happiness that falls to the lot of mortals. (MWU, 26 September 1873, p. 3)

Two days after her departure, Sears' statement about the controversy was printed in the local newspapers. After her record of the events, as previously stated, she questioned the Board:

> Why, when the school was in operation, and everything arranged satisfactorily to the teachers, was it not allowed to remain so?
>
> I can but feel, that by the members of the State Normal Board, and particularly by the President, whom I have long known and regarded as a friend, I have been most unjustly treated. (Sears, J. A., 1873b)

Her complete statement is presented in Appendix 2.

The citizens' petition (Appendix 3) was not presented to the State Board until November 12 when it was referred to the Grievance Committee. The committee's report on December 4, 1873, stated that "to reinstate Miss Sears as requested is impracticable" and that the "grave assumption...that the Board had not acted in good faith, is without foundation" (SNSB, 5 Dec. 1873, p. 159). However they did reprimand Austin and Gage thus:

> The committee find no evidence of dishonesty or bad faith on the part of those engaged in the transaction; yet are persuaded that if they had fully appreciated the bearing of their acts, and had confined their acts within the evident instruction of the Board, the difficulty would not have occurred. (SNSB, 5 December 1873, p. 162)

The board then instructed Austin to forward to Sears the amount of $150 for her travel expenses to be paid from the current fund at Mankato. Miss Wright of Milwaukee was hired to fill the vacancy on the faculty created by Hyde's move into the assistant principalship (St. Peter T., 1 October 1873, p. 3; Winona D. Rep., 30 September 1873, p. 2).

Aftermath

By December 19, Gage had resigned from his directorship on the State Normal School Board stating that his duties as superintendent of the St. Paul schools did not allow him the extra time required for normal school matters (MWRv, 30 December 1873, p. 2; St. Paul Daily Press [St. Paul D.P.], 27 December 1873, p. 4). The *Winona Daily Republican* criticized Gage for his poor grammar and "Gageisms" in his letter of resignation, stating

> We hope Prof[essor] Gage's successor in the Normal Board will be some well educated gentleman whose official communications will not need correction and revision before being given to the public. (Winona D. Rep., 29 December 1873, p. 2)

There were no students graduated from Mankato Normal School that winter (MWU, 26 December 1873, p. 3). Because of the student rebellion, enrollments had dropped from 208 in 1872-73 to 171 in 1873-74 (Youel, 1968). Graduates in 1873-74 accepted positions in only four counties, whereas the

previous year, they had accepted positions in 10 counties (Riege, 1954).

By February, 1874, Austin was accused of absconding with the Normal School funds because he kept them in his own bank account (MWRv, 24 February 1874, p. 3). At the same time, he was replaced as Resident Director of Mankato Normal School by Reverand G. W. T. Wright, the presiding elder of the Methodist Church in Mankato (MWRc, 28 February 1874, p. 3; MWRv, 24 February 1874, p. 3). While the accusations were flying about and the news of Wright replacing Austin was announced, Austin was, once again, out of town (MWRc, 28 February 1874, p. 3).

John's years at Mankato were never wholly successful. He appears to have had no experience with teaching teachers. He ruled with a firm hand that was not also a loving hand, as Sears' had been. His criticism of the students was harsh; he even told those who were to graduate that they were too poorly prepared, persuading them to remain another term (Youel, 1968). By November of 1873, the school building was judged by the State Normal School Board Visiting Committee to be "going to wreck on account of poor work, bad material and defective architecture" (Winona D. Rep., 13 November 1873, p. 2). In 1876 John was offered the position of President of Hamline University (Minnesota's oldest college), a Methodist institution in Red Wing, Minnesota (Jarchow, 1973). But Hamline was having financial difficulties and did not reopen

until 1880, so John stayed at Mankato until that year (Hubbard, 1908; Landon, 1866; Jarchow, 1973). By the time he left Mankato, the enrollment at Mankato Normal School had dropped to 129 (Cooper, 1903). Within three years of his move to Hamline, John "had had enough [of college disasters]; he resigned to take a pastorate in Winona" (Jarchow, 1973, p. 11). Ten years later he tried administration again when he became President of Clark University in Georgia. Once again he stayed only three years, returning to church work in 1896 (Dickinson College, 1995).

Behind all of the local controversy was a larger argument and criticism against normal schools throughout the country, not only in the state of Minnesota, where they surely received their share of criticism. Several criticisms were leveled at the schools:

1) The general public assumed that teaching was a natural instinct, therefore it was presumptuous to believe that there was a need to teach teaching.

2) Any improvement of the qualifications of teachers irritated some of those teachers who had taught for a long time without knowing anything about pedagogy or ever wishing to.

3) The expense of maintaining the schools was continually discussed as the schools were supported by tax monies.

4) There were also some individuals that believed that the philosopher's ideal for a normal school had never been attained, therefore, all normal schools had failed; this belief seemed to be contradicted by the proliferation of normal schools in almost every state by 1873. (Edwards, 1873)

By 1872 there were 101 normal schools in the United States, 48 of these were state-aided, two were county-aided and seven were city-aided. The remaining 44 were connected with other institutions. Only 10 states had no state normal school (six of these were in the South). These 101 schools contained a total of 11,778 students (Woody, 1929). A meeting in Boston that year of normal school educators proposed that state normal schools "be transformed into teachers colleges for the education of the teachers of teachers...topped in each state by one central state normal university" (Warren, 1989, p. 223). In 1873 the University of Iowa established the first permanent chair of education in the United States (Spring, 1994). By the 1890s very few normal school graduates regarded elementary teaching as a career (Warren, 1989).

ANALYSIS OF MANKATO TENURE

Appointment

When Sears was appointed to the position of principal of Mankato Normal School, the school was approximately $2,000 in debt. There was a great deal of speculation on whether or not the school could afford to open in September. By waiting until January, the budget problems might be solved. According to the Chairman of the Prudential Committee, Daniel Buck, the school needed a little over $1,000 in addition to what was in the treasury "to run the school to the first of January" (MWRv, 30 July 1872, p. 3). He had promised the Board to cut expenses during 1872-73 in order to solve the school's financial difficulties and open the school on time.

Being in debt seemed to be a common occurence for the normal schools. The previous Spring, Mankato was also $2,000 overspent. The situation was so critical that term that the teachers' pay was withheld and interest was paid as there simply was no money to pay the salaries (MWRv, 23 January 1872, p. 1). Additional appropriations of $4,000 had been requested from the legislature, and when they came, the

extra $4,000 was granted for 1871-72 only (MWU, 1 March 1872, p. 3). The appropriations paid only the debts of 1871-72, and would not cover any expenses for 1872-73. For 1872-73, Mankato was back to an appropriation of $5,000.

In August it was announced that the school would cut down on the corps of teachers in order to bring the budget closer to the state appropriation (MWU, 2 August 1872, p. 3). It was only a few days after this statement that the announcement about Sears' appointment was made. Since June the salaries of the teachers had been set. Both Sears and Lyon were to receive $1,000. The choice then for Principal seemed to be between the two of them. Lyon would have to be paid $2,500 as Principal. Paying Sears $1,500, instead of the $2,500 required for a male principal, immediately saved the school $1,000 that Buck needed.

Faculty

Personnel

The faculty hired for the school year 1872-73 consisted of: William F. Lyon, Teacher of Penmanship and Superintendant of Building; Samuel M. Weigel, Music (with Arietta Wagner, Assistant Music Teacher); Calista Andrews, Assistant Instructor of Calisthenics; Mary S. Rowland/Carrie Townsend, Assistant Instructor; Martha H. Seward, Assistant Instructor; and A. Ella Clark, Model School. This was an increase of one teacher (Wagner), however it is not clear what connection Wagner had with the Normal School, except as

assistant to Weigel. Neither her name nor her salary are mentioned in the Board minutes, nor is she listed in Sears' annual report. However her name is listed as a new teacher in the *Mankato Weekly Record* (MWRc, 31 August 1872, p. 3). Wagner had been in town the year before and had been in charge of music at the March meeting of the Reading Sociable, the same group that Sears was involved with in January (MWU, 1 March 1872, p. 3). It is highly probable that Sears knew Wagner before the Fall of 1872.

Lyon was hired by Mankato Normal School in 1871. He had taught in business colleges and normal institutes in Ohio previous to his move to Minnesota (MWRv, 13 December 1870, p. 3). The previous year had been his first year at Mankato and he had been hired as instructor of penmanship and the science of accounts at a salary of $500 (Riege, 1954). In June 1872, his salary was doubled, perhaps to bring it in line with the salary of the instructor of penmanship at Winona (Curtiss) who was to receive $1,500 (SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 134). Not until the announcement of Sears' position as principal was Lyon listed as having assumed the additional duties of Superintendent of the Building, indicating that the increase in salary had nothing to do with his new duties (MWU, 30 August 1872, p. 3). It is interesting to note that the Board felt it necessary to add a Superintendent of the Building position during Sears' year as principal. Apparently the Prudential Committee felt it important for a female principal

to have a male First Assistant to deal with tradesmen in ordering supplies and repairs for the building (Minnesota, 1872, p. 261). Yet this decision on the part of the Prudential Committee was used against Sears the following year when the State Normal School Board decided it would be easier to have a man perform all duties as Gage had done. The position of building superintendant did not exist during Gage's tenure and disappeared when John became principal in 1873. It seems that only Sears was relieved of the responsibility of the building. Lyon supervised a janitor who was paid $400 to maintain the building. According to local reports, Lyon was competent in his position, based on the general neat appearance of the building (MWU, 6 December 1872, p. 3).

Weigel was initially hired in 1870-71 as teacher in vocal and instrumental music. He came to Mankato from Anoka (a short distance north of Minneapolis) in November 1870 (MWRv, 8 November 1870, p. 3). His job was to supervise musical instruction of the normal pupils and to run a music institute for the community (MWRv 8 November 1870, p. 3). He had taught at Mankato with Sears the previous year.

Andrews was an 1871 graduate of Mankato Normal School, but had actually been teaching calisthenics there since 1870, when she was hired to be "Teacher in Physical Culture" (MWRv, 6 September 1870, p. 3). Although the *Mankato Weekly Union* indicates that Andrews was originally from River Falls,

Pierce County, Wisconsin at the time of graduation, her church records state that her membership was transferred from the Congregational Church in Fryeborg, Maine on May 4, 1871 (Congregational Church of Mankato, 1887, p. 141; MWU, 30 June 1871, p. 3). Like Weigel and Lyon, Andrews had taught with Sears the previous year.

Rowland, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke, left the faculty within the first few weeks of the Fall term in order to teach at the high school in St. Paul under Gage. She was replaced by Carrie P. Townsend of Massachusetts.

Seward was new to the faculty in 1872, but she had just graduated from Mankato Normal School the previous Spring so was known to Sears as a former student. Seward was from Mankato (MWU, 24 May 1872, p. 3).

Clark, an 1870 graduate of Mankato Normal School, was from Garden City (a small town south of Mankato). Clark was hired in Fall 1870 (MWRv, 5 July 1870, p. 3). She, also, had taught with Sears the previous year.

Therefore, Sears' faculty included three Mankato Normal School graduates (two of whom had taught with Sears, the other of whom was a former student), two former Mankato faculty colleagues, and one new faculty member who came from Sears' home state. She was not entering a new environment with strangers around her. But she was entering into an administrative position where she was the recognized head of a state normal school, something new for a woman.

Faculty Salaries

The faculty for 1871-72, including the principal, totalled eight. For 1872-73, the year Sears was principal, the faculty, including Sears, totalled seven, plus an assistant music teacher. Because the Model Primary School had been eliminated, Whittier had not returned to the faculty. A salary comparison of the two years is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Faculty Salaries in 1871-72 vs. 1872-73

1871-72		1872-73	
Gage	$2,000	Sears	$1,500
Sears	1,000	Lyon	1,000
Rowland	700	Rowland	700
Whittier	700	---	
Andrews	500	Andrews	700
Clark	450	Clark	700
Weigel	500	Weigel	600
Lyon	500	Seward	450
	$6,350		$5,650

The salaries in Table 2 for 1872-73 (except Sears' salary) were set by the State Normal School Board in June of 1872, before Sears became principal. The increase in faculty salaries added to the school's need for an increased annual budget. The nonrenewal of Whittier's contract saved the school $700 and Sears' salary another $1,000. Already, Buck was finding monies to cover the deficit, but the expenses were still outweighing the appropriations.

Changes

Enrollment

The schoolyear began with only 50 students in attendance due to "the indecision in regard to the time of commencing the Fall Term" (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 264). A newspaper item on October 25, 1872, reporting an increase in attendance to 122, was submitted by Lyon, not Sears (MWU, 25 October 1872, p. 3). This is an anomaly in that the attendance numbers and academic affairs were under Sears' purview, not Lyon's. By November enrollments had increased to 132 (Sears, J. A. 1872c, p. 264). The official annual enrollment for the entire academic year, 1872-73, was 208--a number approaching that of the University of Minnesota which had just increased to 250 that year (Youel, 1968; St. Peter T., 23 October 1872, p. 2). Students came to Mankato Normal School from 20 counties in Minnesota plus Iowa (3), Wisconsin (1), Ohio (1) and Vermont (1) (Sears, J. A. 1872c, p. 264).

Model School

In the Model School, the Primary Department was eliminated and a class added at the top of the Intermediate Department. No longer would normal students practice teach in a model primary class. However, a special class of normal students was instituted in the Spring that would thoroughly prepare those students who were unprepared for

advanced classes, to train to be primary school teachers (Sears, J. A., 1872b).

Pledge

The pledge change, which was proposed and approved by the State Normal School Board on June 4, 1872, changed the minimum age of admittance to 15, and no longer compelled students to remain at the school for two years (MWRc, 31 August 1872, p. 3; SNSB, 4 June 1872, p. 133). This change cannot be directly attributed to Sears as it was proposed and approved while she was in Massachusetts for the summer.

Graduation

Three changes involving graduation were effected during Sears' tenure. The first was the adoption of two commencements per year, as was practiced in the other normal schools in Minnesota. A December commencement was held in 1872 to graduate nine students (seven females and two males).

The second change was in the organization of the final examinations. The former practice of reciting for the examination in separate rooms was changed to holding the examination in the Normal Hall, "where the visitor could take in the whole scope of the course of study...and pass a better judgment upon the efficiency of both teacher and pupil" (MWU, 27 December 1972, p. 2).

The third change was in the actual examination. Previously topics were announced beforehand. In December of

1872, the topics were not announced, "so that each pupil was thrown at once upon his general resources" (MWRv, 31 December 1872, p. 1). The results of all these changes were generally agreed to be highly satisfactory.

Alumni Association

In the Spring, 24 (12 male and 12 female) students were graduated; this was the largest class Mankato Normal School had graduated thus far, and the most evenly balanced between males and females (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3). After the Spring graduation, the first meeting of the new alumni association took place with Gage as guest speaker (MWRv, 20 May 1873, p. 3). It is highly probable that Sears was a driving force behind the establishment of the alumni association, but no evidence to support this was found. In her later years, she was strongly in favor of alumni supporting their schools and strove to keep in contact with her students (Sears, J. A., 1911-1929).

Building and Equipment

The Prudential Committee had proposed to sink an artesian well in order to supply the school with water. This matter was taken into consideration during the Fall (MWU, 30 August 1872, p. 3). Small improvements were made in and about the building that Fall (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 265). The visitors from the State Board of Health on October 25

noted additional problems in the ventilation system that would need to be repaired (MWRv, 29 ctober 1872, p. 3). The building was kept neat and in order, the rooms heated and ventillated and there was even a display of house plants in the main hall (MWU, 6 December 1872, p. 3).

In the Spring, the blackboards needed to be reslated; Lyon arranged for this to be done. The work took two weeks and involved reslating the boards in seven small rooms and two halls of the Normal building (MWU, 14 March 1873, p. 3). Other equipment was ordered and received, which included philosophical and chemical apparatus, anatomical models and a small cabinet of minerals (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 265).

Management

Community Relations

The board of visitors from the State Board of Health was pleased with Sears' management of the school. According to newspaper reports throughout Sears' tenure, as well as the State Normal School Board report, Sears was very successful in her management of the school. Sears was praised for being faithful, proficient, enthusiastic, prompt, accurate and full of spirit (MWU, 27 Dec. 1872, p. 2). Her enthusiasm for teaching was instilled in the faculty and in the students. The *Mankato Union* expressed the opinion that her talents "fit her for the place she...occupie[d]" and that she was "fully equal to her position" (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 2; MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3).

Sears' annual report, delivered in December, was judged to be "a clear headed business document" (MWU, 27 December, p. 2). Indeed when this report is compared to the report given by John in 1873, the difference in style and professionalism is very apparent. Sears gives her statistics fully and clearly while John complains that he is unable to find records on numbers of graduates and has no way of knowing how many are teaching. [The statistics he could not find were previously part of the recordkeeping duty of the secretary of the Prudential Committee, but by Fall of 1873 there was no Prudential Committee to assist him (Prudential Committee, 23 June 1871).] Sears' report focuses entirely on the school while John's is written in an informal style using first person throughout and presented in a complaining tone.

Sears' work was judged to be thoroughly done and her service to the school was faithful (MWU, 27 December, p. 2). She was known to be clear and forceful in her language, a model for her pupils, and a lady of thorough culture. To all concerned, Sears appears to have been well-liked, respected, and esteemed as a teacher and a leader. In Sears' words, "Entire harmony and good feeling has existed between committee, teachers and students. The term has been in all aspects very pleasant, and we hope as *profitable* as pleasant" (Sears, J. A., 1872c; MWU, 24 January 1873, p. 2).

Student Relations

Sears' duties as principal included meeting with the students on a daily basis in the classes she taught and in discussion of methods of teaching, school discipline and duties of a teacher's life. She was an inspiring speaker who urged the graduates to go out and teach as well as she had taught them and "by careful and earnest study, teach as [best] as you can" (Sears, J. A., 1872a, p. 2). She urged her female graduates to take advantage of all opportunities, telling them that "any place [they] are fitted to fill is no longer denied to [them]" (Sears, J. A., 1872a, p. 2).

At the end of the commencement exercises in December, Sears and the other four female teachers (Townsend, Andrews, Seward and Clark) were given presents by the students. The love the students felt for Sears comes through clearly in the words of her students who went on strike in order to bring her back to the faculty in Fall 1873, "...the memories of her love and faithfulness will ever be enshrined and...cherished" (St. Paul Daily Press [St. Paul D. P.], 21 September 1873, p. 2).

Board Relations

One of the privileges of the normal school principals was to attend meetings of the State Normal School Board in St. Paul. Gage had attended most of the meetings. Sears attended only one meeting during her tenure; this was the December 4, 1872, meeting at which she read her annual report

covering the period November 1871 to November 1872. Lyon was also in attendance at this meeting; no assistant teacher had previously attended a Board meeting, so one wonders in what capacity he attended. Perhaps Sears felt that she should include Lyon as he had assumed some of the principal's duties. Or perhaps she hoped to use him as a conduit between herself and the all-male board. All three principals of the normal schools were at this meeting and gave their annual reports, but none brought along an assistant teacher.

The auditing committee gave a report on the accounts of each school. It was reported that

> accounts and vouchers from school No. 2 [Mankato] were submitted to us extending only from June 8th 1872; and so far were found correct but that from Nov[ember] 30th 1871 to June 8th 1872 we have had no report as to the financial management of this school. (SNSB, 3 December 1872, p. 136)

The Prudential Committee and the Treasurer (Austin) at Mankato were then "required within one week to present a statement of the receipts and expenditures" of the school for the missing dates with the proper vouchers. In addition, each Prudential Committee and Principal was required "to furnish the President of [the] Board a schedule of the amount of money necessary to provide for the current expenses of the [school] next year and to pay the debts of the same" (SNSB, 3 December 1872, p. 137), instructing the president of the Board to recommend the necessary amount to the legislature for further appropriation. The recommended amount for Mankato was an additional appropriation of $5,000; this

amount was approved by the legislature in the Spring and was designated for 1872-73 only (St. Peter T., 5 March 1873).

In its annual report, the board proclaimed that Sears was "doing excellent service, and [was], in the highest degree, satisfactory to all concerned." According to the report, their decision to hire Sears instead of a man "[had] been abundantly justified by results" (Minnesota, 1872, p. 238).

Faculty Relations

One might speculate on the role Lyon played in the administration of the school. His doubled salary in June looked suspiciously as if he was being primed for the principalship. Indeed he was given part of the principal's duties in Fall of 1872 and even was permitted--or invited--to attend the State Normal School Board meeting in December. The following summer he was considered along with John and Hyde as an official candidate for the principalship. His departure in May of 1873 for the summer elicited the comment that he would "probably dissolve his connection with this school" (MWU, 23 May 1873, p. 3). He headed for Olmstead County and was expected to go further east. He left before he was considered a candidate at the July 22 meeting of the State Normal School Board and before it was announced that Sears would be replaced by a man (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145). It is not inconceivable that Lyon was aware that he would not be a serious candidate and knew that he would not

be chosen as instructor of penmanship for the three schools. It is also possible that he believed Sears would be renewed, and, therefore, he wished to go elsewhere where he could be principal. Perhaps having a woman as a supervisor was too difficult for him as a man. Or perhaps he was joining the general exodus of teachers from the normal schools in the state.

The nature of Sears' individual relationships with the faculty members is not known. However her "enthusiasm, spirit, promptness and accuracy...was in a large degree infused into the assistant teachers" (MWU, 27 December 1872, p. 2). This is consistent with praise given Sears during her later years as an educator.

Personal Life

Living Arrangements

There is little known about Sears' personal life in Mankato. The first city directory was published in 1871 by the *Minneapolis Times*. Sears is not listed in this volume nor is she listed in the second directory which was published in 1873. It is most likely that Sears boarded with a respectable family in the town, near the school. Most single female teachers boarded with families in the communities in which they taught; Sears had done so in Boston and, later, in Nashville.

Church Affiliation

A search into the church records of the Congregational and Methodist-Episcopal Churches in Mankato for the years 1871 through 1873 revealed no mention of Sears' name (Congregational Church of Mankato, 1887; Methodist-Episcopal Church, n.d.). Gage and other teachers of the Normal School (Dyer, Hayden, Rowland, Whittier, Andrews, Hyde) were members of the Congregational Church (Congregational Church of Mankato, 1887). It would be a reasonable assumption that, given her background in the Methodist Church and her future involvement with a Unitarian Church, Sears would have attended either the Congregational Church or the Methodist-Episcopal Church. Teachers were expected in the nineteenth century to have high morals. As Gage stated at a State Teachers' Association meeting, "The teacher who is not of good moral character is unfit for the position" (MWRv, 30 August 1870, p. 3). Because of Sears' strong faith in Christianity, as evidenced by her family background, the comments in her review of Beecher's book on Jesus Christ, and by her personal letters of later years, it is inconceivable that she did *not* attend a church while in Mankato.

Community Activities

The only mention of Sears' involvement with the community was the meeting of the Reading Sociable in which she assisted Gage in the *Coriolanus* reading. No records of the Reading Sociable exist, and there is no evidence through

newspaper notices that she was a member of the Reading Sociable, or of the Library Association (Blue Earth County Historical Society, 1995).

If, as Crabb (1968) suggests in his biographical article on Sears, she was involved in female suffrage, negro suffrage, or temperance issues, she did so on an individual basis, not drawing attention to herself. There was no mention in any newspapers of the town or vicinity of any such activities in Mankato at this time. The first annual convention of the Minnesota State Temperance Union was held in Minneapolis on Tuesday, September 10, 1872, but since this was during the third week of school, it can safely be assumed that Sears was not involved in this convention. In addition, her attendance at such a meeting would have been duly noted in the newspapers, and it was not. Although there were requests from Blue Earth County to the state legislature for the passage of a temperance law in February 1873, the Mankato branch of the WCTU was not organized until 1878 (Minnesota, 1873c, pp. 187 and 285; MFP, 27 June 1952, p. 4). Because these organizations were not yet formed in Mankato and because there is no evidence that she was involved officially with these groups in her later life, it is the opinion of the author that Sears was not involved in any organized form of womens rights groups or temperance groups at the time she was in Minnesota.

There were numerous activities in which Sears could have been involved. In the Spring, excursions were organized by the various churches for afternoon picnics on the river or short train trips to St. Paul and neighboring towns (St. Peter T., 7 May 1873, p. 3). Oyster suppers were also favorite events of the churches in town; the oysters were brought in from Baltimore. The previous summer, the German singing society (Harmonia) had laid the cornerstone of a new hall, which later became the Mankato Opera House, and, during the Fall, it was announced that a new Post Office would be built in Mankato and that a new military company would be organized by the Germans (Hughes, 1909). In February a petition from the citizens of Mankato to the state legislature requested passage of a compulsory education law (Minnesota, 1873c, p. 363). This was defeated by a narrow margin of three votes on February 24 (MWRv, 1 March 1873, p. 2). But mostly the citizens of Mankato were just trying to get through a long and cold winter of snow, epizooty, and the usual hardships that Minnesota winters brought.

Political Affiliation

The town was busy in the Fall of 1872 with the presidential election, debating between Ulysses Grant and Horace Greeley. The Black population and the New Englanders in town were mostly Republican. It is likely that Sears, coming from a strong Republican town on Cape Cod would have regarded herself as a Republican, as well. It was noted at

the time that President Grant was "in favor of paying women the same salaries as men for the same services" (St. Peter T., 4 December 1872, p. 2). This is a belief that would have appealed to Sears. While 100 women around the country tried to vote in the 1872 Presidential election, none were in Minnesota (Catt & Shuler, 1923).

Public Notice

As principal and as a woman, Sears was expected by the public to be exemplary. As a nineteenth century teacher, she was expected to "avoid active participation in political, social and economic issues" (Spring, 1994). Sears ventured into the newspapers on non-school related activities only twice during her stay in Mankato. The first was the Reading Sociable meeting in December 1871. The second was her review of Henry Ward Beecher's new book *The Life of Jesus Christ*, also in December 1871. During her year as principal, Sears' only reported activities were those concerned with the school. Her deep devotion to teaching, developed at an early age, coupled with her wealth of experience through 12 years of teaching kept her focused on her position as an exemplary woman. Her deep religious convictions were evident by her review of the Beecher book and by her speeches to the Normal School graduates.

Women of the nineteenth century either married or had a career, such as teaching. For instance, female educators in the public schoools were not permitted to be married and

continue teaching. The few women who were able to combine the career and family found that societal expectations caused role conflicts. For instance, a woman even in the twentieth century, is expected by society to place the responsibility of home and family over the job. If a man does this, his professional commitment to the job might be questioned (Graham, 1978). It was the acceptance of the unmarried woman professional that gave the name of Respected Spinsterhood to this period of nineteenth century women's history (Palmieri, 1987).

Being a female and principal, Sears likely suffered from not having a spouse, just as today's female presidents might. Because she was woman, she was given a Superintendant of the Building; the evidence shows that neither male president before or after her was given such an employee. This is substantiated by the 1872 report of the Prudential Committee (Minnesota, 1872). It is highly probable that, as a woman, she could not be expected to deal with tradesmen when it came to building repairs; such dealings would be unseemly for a woman. Therefore, a man was necessary as an interface between Sears and the male workers. [It is interesting to note, though, that in 1911 Sears had a house built for herself at the age of 72.]

It is most likely that Sears was treated differently in all aspects of the position when the public could make a differentiation between male and female. For instance Gage

was very involved with the community, not only in organizing a church, but also with articles written for the newspapers, and speeches given at the YMCA and the State Teachers' Association. These activities were still unacceptable for females; organizations such as the teacher associations and public coeducation groups were mostly led by men. Gage also attended most of the State Normal School Board meetings. And Gage had a wife. Elizabeth Gage assisted her husband by teaching drawing at the Normal School in 1870-71, and probably assisted him in other ways as well (MWU, 9 September 1890, p. 3).

Clarke had stated that women "must respect their own organization, and remain women, not strive to be men, or they will ignominously fail" (Clarke, 1873/1972, p. 19), and most people believed this to be true. In profiling twentieth century women presidents, Kerr and Gade (1986) identified difficulties peculiar to women presidents, as feeling excluded from conversations among men, and feeling a need for a "wife." Their identifiable advantages for female presidents included more courteous treatment, having a built-in constituency with female board members and other female constituents, and being more readily accepted as time goes on. As a nineteenth century president, Sears also suffered from these disadvantages, but did not profit from the identified advantages. Sears most likely felt excluded from the conversations of the male board and the male bonding that

would normally occur between the board and the other normal school principals and, also, with Lyon whom she had brought with her to the December meeting. North's (1992) research on behavior differences in women and men in higher education administration, indicates major differences in norms of talking, listening and behaviors, gender differences in language patterns, different ways of approaching decisions, and different approaches to group tasks. Sears had grown up among women; she had not learned gender differences in speech patterns and behavior, as a twentieth century president might.

In addition, Kerr and Gade's advantages, peculiar to women presidents, are not applicable to Sears. There were no female members of the State Normal School Board, therefore, there was no female constituency to support her. There was no chance for her acceptance to increase with time, as she was in the position only one year. As for courteous treatment, the nonrenewal of her contract could be viewed as very *dis*courteous treatment on the part of the Board.

Sears was an anomaly in the nineteenth century; she was a female in a traditional male position and a president without a spouse: an anomaly with which higher education still struggles in the twentieth century.

Personal Losses

Two personal tragedies occured to Sears during her year as principal. The first was the burning of Boston. On

Saturday afternoon, November 9, 1872, fire broke out in downtown Boston. Unfortunately a hurricane was blowing at the time, and the fire spread quickly. Within thirty minutes, most of the downtown area and wharves were in flames. The wharfage was all burned as were many vessels in the harbor (MWRv, 12 November 1982, p. 2). Sears had lived on Saratoga Street in East Boston, and had taught in Charlestown, two areas separated from downtown Boston by water. However, the damage to the wharfage and the vessels, as well as the warehouses, surely would have upset her because of the possible personal losses her family and Cape Cod neighbors, who were involved in the packet trade between Boston and East Dennis, may have suffered.

The second personal tragedy that occured that year, was the death of Bridgewater President, Marshall Conant, on February 10, 1873. Conant had been an inspiration to Sears, as he had been to many other students at Bridgewater. His encouragement to his students to travel far and open their horizons had been eagerly embraced by Sears just as his love for astronomy had also become her love. He had expected great things of Sears, and she had fulfilled his prophecy (Sears, J. A., 1915).

Evaluation as a President

Effective leaders set standards of performance, frame goals, create a productive environment, and obtain support (Campbell, Corbally & Nystrand, 1983). Sears needed to be an

effective leader and a woman within the confines of nineteenth century thought. While she cannot be judged by twentieth century evaluative constructs, current research can give a perspective on what was missing for females who were pioneers in educational administration in the nineteenth century.

Twentieth century research indicates that the key elements in career paths for female administrators include mentors, networking, credentials, and experience in lower-level positions, with mentoring, perhaps, the single most important factor in administrative career development (Barrax, 1986). While Sears had impeccable credentials and a wealth of experience in lower-level positions, she had no female role model, consequently no network of which she could avail herself. Her concepts of administration were based on her mentors, Marshall Conant and George Gage. As males, Conant and Gage fulfilled the role expectations for a principal, expectations which Sears, as a female, particularly one of the nineteenth century, could not fulfill even if she knew how. No matter how much Sears knew about administration, playing political games, or promoting herself as a leader, she would have been unable to pattern herself completely as a Conant or a Gage, for Conant and Gage approached all tasks and decisions from a male perspective, a perspective that was considered the norm in a principal of a normal school. To emulate the male traits that could have

made Sears acceptable to the Board, would have immediately made her unacceptable to these same males, as she would then be denying her essence as a woman. By the time Sears left Mankato in September 1873, she had lost both of her mentors, Conant by death and Gage by his failure to support her the previous summer.

In evaluating a nineteenth century female leader, the values and societal perceptions of the times and location must also be considered. While many citizens of Mankato were transplanted New Englanders, most were of German ancestry and had been in the West for some time thus could not be expected to be as progressive in thoughts of female rights as New Englanders were at that time. The town had begun only 15 years before Sears' arrival; its history was short, but full. Sears was living in a civilized, yet very new town, whose citizenry did not readily embrace the idea of women as leaders. The town newspapers often contained derogatory articles about women who did break out of the nineteenth century mold. Sears would have had to remain within the mold of virtue in order to maintain a good relationship with the community. Her strong support through the newspapers is evidence of the strong feelings of respect and value the community felt for her.

Sears' standards for her students were high. The goal she set for the school was to give the students "the most thorough preparation possible for the work before them"

(Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 263). She believed the students all to be capable of being good and valuable teachers. Her change in the examination process to unannounced topics set high standards for the graduates to attain. Like other nineteenth century college presidents, Sears taught classes as well as performed the administrative work. As she inspired and encouraged her students, so they responded. By inspiring her teachers and students, Sears created an environment that was productive and supportive of the students and their work, as evidenced in the report of the Board of Health and newspaper reports of the graduations.

It is essential for a college president to be professionally qualified, but it is also essential that the position be invested with the authority needed for the president to be able to lead. Sears was eminently qualified for the position of principal of a normal school in the nineteenth century. Teaching ability and molding students into valuable teachers were important criteria for a principal of a normal school. The authority she needed to lead was given to her by the State Normal School Board, with qualifications. She was still a woman, thus was going to be treated differently by an all-male nineteenth century governing board, which would not give her the authority they would give to a man--nor would she expect them to do so.

In summary, Sears was a pioneer in higher education administration, with no female role model and no mentor

supporting her strongly enough to insist that she be continued as principal. However, Sears effectively set high standards of performance at the school, she framed goals for the students and faculty, created a productive environment, and was invested with what little authority the Board was willing to give to a woman. It is, therefore, the opinion of the author that Sears can be judged as an effective leader within the confines of nineteenth century thought.

Non-renewal of Contract

New Slate of Teachers

When Sears went back to Massachusetts, traveling with Townsend on May 19, it would appear that she had no reason to believe that she would not be returning to Mankato in the Fall as Principal for her second year. But she did know that both Lyon and Andrews would not be returning the next year, as Lyon was on the train with her and Andrews had left three days earlier.

As it turned out, *none* of the teachers under her command returned the following year. When the State Normal School Board approved its slate of teachers for 1873-74, Sears was the only returning teacher, and she was demoted to Assistant Principal. C. C. Curtis of Winona was appointed penmanship instructor for all three normal schools with an increased salary of $2,000; a music teacher for all three was also to be chosen. Two of the new teachers, Laura Hand and Jennie Lambie, were Mankato graduates (Riege, 1954; SNSB, 22

July, 1873, p. 144). Another teacher, Helen M. Phillips had been Principal of Milwaukee Female College, and the fourth, Defransa A. Hall, came from Oswego New York Normal School (MWU, 27 June 1873, p. 3). In taking over the management of the normal schools, the State Normal School Board wiped the slate clean at Mankato. Even Daniel Buck, the long-time supporter and twice chairman of the now defunct Prudential Committee, stepped down from the Board, ceding his place as Resident Director to George W. Austin. At St. Cloud Normal School all the teachers were also replaced; only the Principal, Ira Moore, remained. And at Winona Normal School, more than half of the teachers were replaced that summer.

New Resident Director

The State Normal School Board met on Tuesday, June 3, 1873 in St. Paul. At this meeting Gage, who had been appointed to the Board by the governor, was elected President of the Board. Austin was appointed chairman of the committee on textbooks and a member of the committee on employment of teachers. As Resident Director of the Mankato school, he was made treasurer of the school, a position he had held the previous year. The three principals of the schools and the president and secretary were then appointed to a committee to prepare and recommend "a systematic and uniform course of studies for each school" (MWRv, 10 June 1873, p. 3). Austin served on this committee for the Mankato school. The other two principals (Winona and St. Cloud) and Austin (not Sears)

were authorized "to go east to engage teachers" (MWRv, 10 June 1873, p. 3).

New Principal

Two weeks later Austin told the newspapers that the principal of the school for 1873-74 would be a man. It was speculated that "there [were] duties pertaining to that position which a lady could not, or would not desire to perform" (MWU, 27 June 1873, p. 3). It was also announced at this time, unofficially, that John would be the new principal. Yet the Board did not meet until July 22, at which time John was elected from a slate of three candidates for the position. Hyde and Lyon were the other two candidates (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145). It was believed that the Board had already made its decision on the principalship a month before the election was held.

The question now arises as to how John came to be chosen at all. John was a Methodist-Episcopal minister in Pennsylvania. Austin was a member of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in Mankato. Austin was authorized to recruit faculty for the school. Did Austin recruit John and when? Or did the appointment come through Hon. Thomas Simpson, a member of the State Normal School Board and an active Methodist-Episcopalian involved with the Methodist-Episcopal District Conference in Minnesota? (Winona D. Rep., 5 September 1873, p. 3; St. Cloud Journal, 24 July 1873, p. 3). When Austin was eventually replaced in February of 1874, it was by a

Methodist minister. Was this the "old boy network" of the nineteenth century at work?

The Salary Question

A resolution was also passed at the July 22, 1873, meeting as follows:

> *Resolved*, That we appoint teachers for the Normal School for the ensuing school year, and whereas the power of this Board in the expenditure of funds for the current expenses of the schools is limited to the amount actually appropriated by the Legislature, that all persons employed as teachers by this Board before entering upon their duties shall be fully informed of the powers of the Board in making contracts with teachers and the liability of the State for the payment of such salaries as shall be agreed upon. (MWRv, 29 July 1873, p. 3)

Austin believed he had the authority from the Board to offer Sears her old salary of $1,500. In the morning session of the July 22 meeting, it was ordered that "each member of the committee on the employment of teachers (being the members residing where the schools are located) should report names of teachers, salaries, and any applicants other than those recommended" (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 144). Given such a directive, it is likely that Austin did report to the Board his salary offer to Sears, although no mention of this is made in the minutes of the Board. In the afternoon, the Board ruled on a motion by Kiehle that first and second assistants would be paid salaries of not more than $1,200 and $1,000, respectively. Only after this resolution was passed was Sears elected to the first assistant position at a salary of $1,200 (SNSB, 22 July 1873, p. 145).

Because both the penmanship instructor and the music instructor would cover all three schools, the actual number of full-time faculty at Mankato declined to five. While Lambie was elected at the June meeting of the Board, she does not appear to have taught in the school that year. The salaries of all the teachers were set as seen in Table 3.

Table 3

Faculty Salaries, 1873-74

John	$2,500
Sears/Hyde	1,200
Phillips	1,000
Hall	1,000
Hand	600
	$6,100

The Board Takes Control

The Board had purposely set out to take control of the three schools by abolishing the Prudential Committees, thus eliminating as much local control as possible. It was their decision to replace Sears with a man, with no reasoning against Sears except that she was a woman. To choose their own principal for the school, one not closely identified with the community of Mankato, seemed to be their aim. To choose one who had no teaching or normal school experience was to prove a disaster.

One wonders if the Board also used its influence to be able to hire all new teachers for the school. The salary

issue appears to have been engineered by someone on the Board who was determined to make the return to Mankato as unappealing as possible for Sears. The timing of Sears' appointment seems significant. Was Kiehle or someone else trying to make the offer as unappealing to Sears as possible in hopes that she would not return? Why indicate a second choice (Hyde) if Sears should decline when such a procedure had not been followed before, unless she was being manipulated to decline?

The matter of allegiance to one controlling body or the other seems to have been an issue for the State Board. The Board President the previous year (McMaster) had stated his opinion in January that he felt a central board controlling the normal schools in the state would allow the schools to "emerge from much of the jealousy and prejudice that now attaches to them as local institutions claiming support from public funds" (St. Peter T., 15 January 1873, p. 2). The move to central boards was a typical move in the 1870s and 1880s as states, wanting to take educational decisions away from the people, discovered ways to strengthen their control over educational decisions (Warren, 1989). The city of Mankato had been intricately involved in all matters at their normal school since the citizens first raised the $5,000 in matching funds. The people were now losing control over their school for which they had fought so staunchly.

The Board seemed determined to follow its new rules exactly, with no room for reason or sensitivity. So Austin had to write to Sears and apologize for the change in salary. Receiving a salary reduction on top of a demotion was a double insult to a woman who believed that she had been successful in her position. When word came that the entire faculty had been changed, she was perplexed and ready to abandon the school, as evidenced by her statement "I did not wish to continue in the school" (MWU, 26 September 1873, p. 2). Only her duty to the students persuaded her to return for one semester so as not to upset the school further (Sears, J. A., 1873b).

A Matter of Authority

Austin had been given the authority by the Board to hire teachers. As President, Gage did not have the authority to negotiate, nor to communicate on matters of employment. To report a private correspondence to the person who had been given this authority was unprofessional, in the opinion of this author. If the Board wanted to maintain a strict control of matters, and it seems that this was so, then Gage was outside of his authority to repeat a private thought to Austin, i.e. that Sears felt she would not see him again and was upset at the demotion. The way Gage explained it to the Board on September 4, Sears had "expressed her determination not to return whereupon he [Gage] decided and gave notice to Austin that the situation be tendered to Mr. Hyde" (SNSB, 4

September 1873, p. 147 fn.). It is evident from the correspondence and Sears' own report of the affair, that she was unaware that Gage was even a member of the State Normal School Board, let alone its president.

By the end of August, Gage had his own difficulties in trying to open the St. Paul schools on time. The buildings were not ready and school opening had to be delayed one week (St. Paul D.P., 31 August 1873, p. 4; St. Paul D.P., 6 September 1873, p. 4). The previous year he had spent over $100,000 on the schools of St. Paul (Faribault Democrat, 2 August 1872, p. 2). Now he faced criticisms in the press from businessmen who felt that too much money went into the public schools and not enough quality came out. As one critic said:

> ...tell us why it is that so many people have to take their children away from these schools for which we are annually bled so freely, in order to have them taught anything--why they are so managed that they cannot have the same advantages as private schools. (St. Paul D.P., 6 September, p. 4)

By mid-September Gage was facing another critic, this time the criticism was aimed at his journal, *Minnesota Teacher and Journal of Education*. The criticisms were leveled at Gage's use of syntax and grammar in an article he wrote on normal and model schools (St. Paul D.P., 16 September 1873, p. 2). It was a petty criticism, but an annoying one to have aired publicly. Perhaps Gage's own difficulties in August and September of that year kept him too preoccupied to worry about his old friend and colleague of so many years. By

March of 1874 Gage was in trouble with the public again, this time over the firing of a school principal in St. Paul (MWRc, 28 March 1874, p. 2; MWRv, 24 March 1874, p. 2).

Increased Spending

The new appropriation bill which had passed in Spring 1873 gave Mankato Normal School the $5,000 in additional appropriations that Sears had requested, but was for that year only (St. Peter T., 5 March 1873, p. 2). By the end of August 1873, the Board had committed Mankato to $6,100 in faculty salaries. With authority from someone (no official authorization from the Board is noted in the State Normal School Board minutes), John immediately began to renovate and refurbish the building at Mankato. These were not minor changes as Sears had made the previous year, but involved repainting and Kalaomining the halls of the entire building, painting and carpeting an office and reception room for himself, painting and papering a teacher's room, and painting the roof (MWU, 29 August 1873, p. 3). Already the school was running at a deficit.

Austin vs. the Board

By the end of August, Austin had followed through on his decision to tell Sears to come for one semester. Hand (who was from Chain Lake Centre, had graduated from Mankato in Spring 1870, and had been employed by the Union School in Mankato) was shifted to one of Gage's schools in St. Paul in

order to make room for Hyde. Hyde was then given a salary of $1,000 ($200 less than he would have received as Assistant Principal) which he seemed willing to accept. He seems to have been anxious for Sears to remain at the school (MWRv, 9 September 1873, p. 3).

The Fall term could have continued as it was then set with John as principal, Sears as Assistant Principal, and the faculty of Hyde, Phillips and Hall. However, the Board, apparently, needed to make a point of authority, by insisting that their rulings be further carried to exactness. By declaring that Sears *had* declined the position of Assistant Principal, they then had to follow their intention that Hyde would have the position. Their inflexibility on the entire matter can be understood only if Gage, as President of the Board, either led them to this inflexibility or allowed himself to be ruled by insistent members of the Board. Either way, he was not faithful in his longstanding friendship with Sears, and this is what she found so very difficult to forgive.

Austin was not in town, because of the death of his child in Chicago, so was not able to exert any local influence on the Board. Neither Gage nor Wilson seem to have supported their previous decision concerning Sears and Hyde. Whether or not Austin's influence would have encouraged Gage and Wilson to support Sears, must be only conjecture. The new Board had been formed in order "to prevent any member or

subordinate committee, assuming responsibilities and binding the Board beyond specific instructions" (Minneapolis T., 1 October 1872, p. 2). They were not about to agree to Austin's rearrangements to accommodate everyone, nor to Sears stipulation that she would remain for only one semester. When the board of trustees at Antioch College in 1853 were faced with a female professor (Rebecca Pennell) who demanded a salary of $1,000 or she would return to the East, the Antioch board submitted to her demands (Tharp, 1950). The board in Minnesota was not so easily swayed. Two years previously when a First Assistant at St. Cloud had threatened to leave unless she received an increase in salary, the Board simply replaced her (SNSB, 6 June 1871, p. 121). There was no room for contract negotiations with *this* Board.

By not agreeing with Austin's arrangements for the school, the Board was also indicating to the local community that it was now the supreme authority, not the Resident Director. Not having Austin in town to justify his decision, nor to support Sears, made it all the easier for the Board to exert its power.

The Rebellion

The Sears Rebellion consisted of four main groups who were vying for control of the school. Lost in the struggle was Hyde, who had won the Board's approval for Sears' position. Hyde seems to have been an innocent party in the affair. Many years later when he was Conductor of the

Minnesota Normal High School in Minneapolis, he was to take the part of a woman who had lost her position as stenographer in the Department of Public Instruction simply in order that a Democrat be given the job. Hyde urged that she be returned to her former position (Hyde, 1901). He seems to have seen the injustice in this matter as well as the injustice done to Sears.

As for the students, they claimed that many returned to the school only because Sears was to be on the faculty. According to the students, they were informed that Sears would be Assistant Principal by "printed circulars, issued by the Normal Board" (St. Paul D.P., 21 September 1873, p. 2). They loved and respected Sears, thus were startled and angry when it was announced that the Board was removing her from the school. On the 8th of September, John suspended the students from Mankato Normal School. John had suspended the students in hopes of curtailing a spread of the strike. However John became anxious, and "feeling assured that all hope of submission was at an end, [he] determined to resort to the only alternative which remained" (John, 1873, p. 891). At this point, John consulted with Gage. The result of this consultation was the expulsion of 31 students.

It was intimated in the local newspapers that the students who rebelled were urged to do so at the instigation of one individual in town, a "briefless barrister" (MWRc, 28 February 1874, p. 2), who had private reasons for wanting

Sears to remain in Mankato. It was indicated by John that the students were "impelled to their rash act by one whom they deemed a competent legal advisor" (MWRc, 28 March 1874, p. 3). There is no evidence that a liaison between Sears and a Mankato lawyer existed; Sears does not seem to have communicated with anyone in Mankato after she left, and she did leave town as soon as travel arrangements could be made.

Sears did, however, speak with the students and urge them not to withdraw from the school. From the strong support she received from the students, it is evident that she had a close relationship with them. Only 78 students were in attendance on September 1. A week later, 40 of these students had been suspended by John for their part in the Rebellion. This was over 50% of the students and constituted most of the upper classes who had had Sears as teacher and principal the previous year. Most of the 31 expelled students (those of the original 40 who had not apologized to John) left Mankato to return to their homes about September 19, three days before Sears left for Massachusetts.

The citizens of Mankato continued to support Sears throughout the controversy which raged in the newspapers on through the Spring of 1874, stating that Sears was "a scholar...and teacher of superior qualification" who had "a reputation second to none other in the State" (MWU, 26 September 1873, p. 3). Even in Minneapolis she was believed to be "one of the best educators in the state" and was

praised for her "ability, application and good judgment" (Minn. Times, 25 September 1873, p. 1). The citizens of Mankato who organized and signed the petition of September 8 in support of Sears were, perhaps, protesting the strong arm of the State Normal School Board more than they were petitioning in favor of Sears. They were also interested in the return of Weigel as music teacher and the return of a full-time teacher in penmanship (MWU, 12 September 1873, p. 3). The new rulings of the Board were not at all to their liking; this was their way of expressing their anger (MWU, 12 September 1873, p. 3). Daniel Buck and James Brown, original promoters of Mankato Normal School and former chairmen of the Prudential Committee, signed the petition--in fact Brown's signature was the first on the document. The petition also included the signatures of Mayor Wiswell and other prominent businessmen.

Because there was no meeting of the Board between September 4 and November 12, the presentation of the petition was delayed until three weeks after Sears left Minnesota. It was then relegated to the Grievance Committee until December. By these delays, the Board essentially dissolved any protest in the Sears matter. Sears had agreed to stay through December, so changing its ruling in December would not have made any difference to the makeup of the Mankato faculty.

Gage further moved that the recommendations of the Grievance Committee be published in the newspapers of St.

Paul and of the three cities where the normal schools were located (SNSB, 12 November 1873, p. 151). This was a bold move if there was a possibility that the Grievance Committee would decide to be swayed by the citizens of Mankato. But the Board had set on a course of maintaining strong control of the schools, removing them from under local influence. To decide in favor of the citizen's petition would have undermined their new authority and sent the message to citizens in Winona and St. Cloud that they, too, would continue to have influence over their schools. It is the opinion of this author that the Board did not want to send such a message, thus the Grievance Committee had no choice but to deny the petition. And deny it they did. It should be noted that board member Kiehle, who had presented the resolution to limit First Assistants' salaries to $1,200 just before Sears' salary was set, was a member of the Grievance Committee (SNSB, 3 June 1873, p. 140). If he had been part of purposely formulating Sears' offer in order to have her decline the position, he would also have readily denied the petition. As for the small amount of money allotted Sears, which she did not receive until the following Spring, it did not in any way compensate Sears for the loss of the half a year's salary that she had been willing to earn (Anderson, 1987; Minneapolis T., 1 October 1873, p. 2).

After dispensing with the Sears matter on December 4, the Board went on to discuss the offenses of W. F. Phelps,

Principal of Winona Normal School. Phelps was accused of teaching German in the Model School, refusing to reduce the model schools as stipulated by the Board, establishing three private model schools and using normal school teachers to teach in them, lack of cooperation with the Board, and personal "angularities," i.e. he aroused hostility to normal schools and the local educators could not get along with him, and he had a disgraceful temper with the staff and students. It was proposed that he be fired. The Board was split on this resolution with Gage among those who voted for firing Phelps. Austin voted against the firing (SNSB, 12 November 1873, pp. 153-154). Yet after much discussion at the November and December board meetings, the charges against Phelps were tabled indefinitely with the agreement that all adverse activities would cease (SNSB, 4 December 1873, pp. 155-156). Phelps was retained at Winona as Principal. The community of Winona, which defended their principal rigorously, regarded these charges as a personal vendetta of jealousy on the part of Gage and others on the Board against Phelps.

It makes the author wonder what criteria this Board used in evaluating principals of its normal schools: whether the principal be one who had caused much trouble in his school for several years and had ignored the admonitions of the Board, the principal who had no qualifications to teach in a normal school, or the principal who was praised for

brilliant success and loved by all. Two years after the Sears Rebellion, the principal at St. Cloud, Ira Moore (a Bridgewater graduate), was also replaced--by Reverend D. L. Kiehle, former member of the State Normal School Board.

At the time Sears left Mankato on September 23, 1873, most of the expelled students had returned to their homes and the citizens had written their petition. The entire affair at Mankato left Sears devastated. Her embarassment was such that she was never known to have spoken about her Mankato experience to her colleagues in future years, nor to her family. Within two years of her return to Massachusetts, Sears was hired as one of the first faculty members at Peabody Normal College in Nashville, Tennessee, where she remained for 32 years.

SEARS' LIFE AS AN EDUCATOR IN THE SOUTH

Return to Massachusetts

Sears returned to Fairhaven, Massachusetts, about September 25, 1873, to live with her two sisters, Sarah Crowell and Amanda Sears, in Sarah and her husband Milton's house on North Main Street.

Sears' younger sister, Amanda, had never married and had moved to Fairhaven in 1871 to teach at North Fairhaven School (known as the "Pink Schoolhouse"). Later she taught at the Stone Schoolhouse at Oxford Village, where one day she reprimanded the students for using profanity on the school grounds. After a serious talk with the class, she stated "You children come from good homes; you never hear your parents use such language. Will any one who has heard his parents swear, stand up!" The students were mostly children of retired sea captains and seafaring mothers. One little girl who was afraid that to remain sitting would be to tell a lie, stood up. Not to be outdone by a girl, the boys began to stand, which encouraged more girls to stand until every student in the classroom was standing (Philip, 1948)!

Amanda, like her sisters, had strong moral convictions, but she also had a sense of humor, as evidenced by entries in her travel diary of 1868, and this incident must have made her smile inwardly. Sometime after 1873, Amanda became principal of the Center Street Grammar School where she remained until it closed in 1885. At this point, Amanda became a teacher and principal at the Rogers School, a new school in Fairhaven, until she retired in 1887 at the age of 45 (Harris, 1952). Of all her sisters, Sears' had always been closest with her younger sister, Amanda. Both had devoted their lives to teaching and it would be Amanda with whom Sears would live the last 22 years of her life.

Sears' sister, Sarah, travelled frequently with her husband, Milton Crowell, who was a sea captain. In 1867 they had taken Amanda with them on a journey from New York to San Francisco to Liverpool and back again. Amanda wrote faithfully in her diary during this trip, telling of how she started a small school onboard ship in order to relieve boredom on calm days (Sears, A., 1868). So while the Crowells traveled, Amanda and Julia Sears lived in the house on North Main Street and became involved in local activities.

Sears in Nashville, Tennessee

History of George Peabody College for Teachers

In the Fall of 1875, Sears was recommended by her former teachers at Bridgewater Normal School to take the position of assistant in the new normal school to be

established through the Peabody Education Foundation in Nashville, Tennessee (Sears, J. A., 1915).

The Peabody Education Foundation, was founded with $1 million in 1867 "to stimulate growth of public schooling in the South through exhortation, dissemination of information and small matching grants to schools" (Tyack and Hansot, 1951/1982, p. 89). Previous to the Civil War, schooling in the South consisted mostly of private institutions for sons of wealthy plantation owners. It was George Peabody's intention to assist the development of public schools for the South after the Civil War. The Peabody Education Fund established public schools and normal schools in the South and assisted in funding teacher training throughout the nation. His gifts to education in this country included $1 million to the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, and $1.4 million to the Universities of Harvard and Yale, and other institutions. To the South he gave $1 million in cash and $1 million of Mississippi six percent bonds (MWRv, 22 June 1869, p. 1).

Barnas Sears, a distant relative of Julia Sears, was chosen to be the first Peabody Agent to represent the Peabody Education Fund. A theology professor, Barnas Sears had succeeded Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. When the Peabody Education Fund was established in 1867, Sears headed South to look for the site of a new normal school for training teachers. That year, he

visited Nashville and spoke with a committee of the Teachers' Association, presenting a proposal to support a normal school in Tennessee, geographically in the center of the South. The committee urged the state legislature to accept the offer, but the legislature refused.

Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, Chancellor of the University of Nashville, then recommended that the university's trustees talk with Barnas Sears. The University of Nashville had grown through several name and structural changes since it was first established as Davidson Academy in 1785. In 1806 it had become Cumberland College and in 1826, the University of Nashville. It had had an unsteady history, closing when money was scarce. But its trustees over the years included three Presidents of the United States, four members of the Cabinet, three foreign ministers, eight United States Senators, and many members of the House of Representatives (Sears, J. A., 1905). It was proposed by the University that the new normal school would replace the University's inactive literary (liberal arts) branch.

A cooperative agreement was finally reached between the trustees of the University of Nashville, and the Peabody Education Fund. Once again the proposal went to the legislature, requesting that the state match the Peabody grant of $6,000 in order to establish a normal school at the University of Nashville. However the legislature continued to reject the proposal until an alternate proposal was

offered whereby the matching funds were provided by the University through provision of grounds and an annual income for at least two years. This then was acceptable to all three parties and the Normal School at Nashville became a joint effort of the Peabody Education Fund, the University of Nashville and the State of Tennessee, with the Peabody Fund providing most of the funding (Dillingham, 1989).

Teaching at Peabody

Sears first boarded with the Lindsleys in Nashville and later with a Mrs. Grey (perhaps Mrs. Frank Grey) (Sears, Julia to Charles E. Little [JAS-CEL], 20 October 1921; JAS-CEL, 11 April 1921). She lived in a single room and grew a few flowers and ferns in pots to keep her company, and regretted that she did not have more space for growing flowers. "When you have yourself and belongings in one room there is not much room for anything else," she wrote to her eight-year old niece, Alice (Sears, J. A., 8 November 1891).

Sears was active in the Woman's Association of the University of Nashville, later known as the Peabody Woman's Club (Cowgill, 1937). One of the projects of the Woman's Association was the development of a permanent endowment and the planning of a new campus for the college.

It was in the 1890s that the National American Woman Suffrage Association moved into the South. Although Crabb (1968) insists throughout his writings that Sears was somehow

involved in the woman suffrage movement and was "the local representative of Mrs. Susan B. Anthony" (Crabb, 1968, p. 141), there is no information to substantiate this. Crabb's papers, which, upon his death, were left to Vanderbilt University, contain no research whatsoever on Sears, [although he had written in 1968 about the discovery in 1936, by a Peabody professor, of her Minnesota life, which she had kept a secret] (Harwell, 1995). No mention of Sears is made in any of Anthony's biographies or personal diaries. While Anthony did stop in Nashville while Sears was there and was honored at the home of a prominent Nashville resident, Sears' name was never mentioned as a guest at the event.

In 1875 there were 18 white normal schools or colleges with normal departments in the former Confederate states and West Virginia. Ten years later, there were 32 white and 47 Black normal schools in these states. The normal school in Nashville was significant to this growth as, unlike other normal schools that drew from localized areas, Nashville's students came from each of the former Confederate states. In its geographically central position, it had been established by the Peabody Education Foundation to serve all of the South, not just Tennessee. The students, then, returned to their home states as teachers and administrators to lead the public school movement throughout the South. The impact of the growth in schooling during these years can also be seen at the public school level. In Georgia, for instance, 13% of

Black children attended public schools in 1873; by 1880, this number had increased to 43% (Wolfe, 1982).

Sears was very much a part of this growth in education in the South. When the new normal school opened on December 1, 1875, Sears was one of three teachers (including the principal) on the faculty: Principal Eben Sperry Stearns (formerly President of New Hampshire Female Academy), Emma Cutter (a Bridgewater Normal School graduate) and Sears (Dillingham, 1989). They were greeted with "very little besides the bare walls of the buildings" (Sears, J. A., 1905, p. 187). Soon equipment was brought in and Sears immediately began to teach mathematics and astronomy to the 13 students (Cowgill, 1937).

It is from the Peabody years that most of Sears' theory of education and personal thoughts on students and education are known. According to Cowgill (1937) and Peabody catalogues, Sears' theory of education embraced the idea that

> Originality on the part of the teacher, aptness in illustration, and perfect familiarity with all phases of the subject matter would make a deeper impression upon the student and give him a broader view of the subject than any constant drill in the letter of the text-book. (Cowgill, 1937, p. 8)

Her students praised her for her fairness of judgment, her accuracy and precision, and her ability to inspire her students to greatness. She required the same qualities from her students, but used such gentleness and graciousness when dealing with them that they worked all the more for her. "She was ever their friend and inspiring leader" (Cowgill,

1937, p. 7). To inspire a teacher, Sears said "A little praise to a teacher, face to face, will do both him and you good. Teachers like to know that their efforts are appreciated" (JAS-CEL, 24 November 1927, p. 3).

The first class, comprising seven graduates, graduated in May 1877. The following year, the normal school was renamed State Normal College, the curriculum was extended, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts offered (Sears, J. A., 1905; Dillingham, 1989). Peabody was well on its way toward playing a vital role in teacher education in the South.

Student and Faculty Unrest

In 1883 Sears experienced her second student protest; this time the protest was against a president. A much-loved professor had been dismissed from the faculty and the alumni and senior students presented a formal protest to the State Board on October 27, 1883, to protest the firing of the professor and to protest against President Stearns' administration. By December, the rebellion had ended quietly and the alumni association was disavowing itself of the affair (Dillingham, 1989). The professor was not reinstated and the president stayed on. The result of this protest was the same as that in Minnesota ten years previously, without the expulsion of students and without a citizens' petition of protest. On April 10, 1887, President Stearns died after a long illness. The board began to negotiate a contract with William Harold Payne at the University of Michigan,

convincing him to move South and take on the presidency of Peabody.

During the summer of 1871, while Sears was back in Fairhaven, her sister, Amanda, resigned from her principalship at the Rogers School, and her father, Constant Sears, died. With two major changes in her family life, Sears returned to Peabody in the Fall of 1877 to find that a faculty member, Benjamin B. Penfield, was serving as Acting President until the new president, Payne would arrive. Penfield's tenure was full of frustration for the faculty and difficulties for Penfield. One after another of the faculty members became involved in controversy with him. Even Sears had trouble with him when he criticized her for turning in her grades too early and for returning to her classroom too soon after an illness (Dillingham, 1989). Penfield's indecision and meaningless complaints irritated Sears to the point that she wrote to Payne at the end of December 1887 to tell him how anxious the faculty were for him to come to Nashville and assume the position of President (Sears, J. A., 1887; Dillingham, 1989).

Commemorative Events at Peabody

In 1899 Sears had taught at the George Peabody College for Teachers, as it was by then named, for 25 years. In a simple ceremony in the chapel, a lovely diamond ring was presented by the faculty and students to Sears in commemoration of her many years of service to the

institution. It was hoped that this gift would "not only recall the occasion which suggested it, but would be to her a lasting evidence of the esteem in which she was held by both faculty and students" (Peabody College for Teachers, 1904, p. 1).

Five years later, the faculty and students once again gathered in the chapel to honor Sears, this time for her thirty years of service. For this occasion, the faculty and students decided to mark the event in a way that would tell future generations of students of the high esteem in which Sears was held. Therefore a portrait of Sears was painted by Cornelius Hankins and hung in the east parlor of the Social and Religious Building. Dressed in dark colors and high white collar, Sears was depicted with a calm, firm and purposeful gaze; only her face and left hand, with diamond ring, show prominently. The portrait was surrounded by a richly ornamented gold frame (Peabody Post, 23 July 1968).

In the addresses which were delivered that day, President James D. Porter and Professor H. A. Vance spoke glowingly of Sears' years of teaching and service to the college and to the profession of education in the United States. As Porter said of Sears,

> there is today at no school or college in the country a professor or instructor in her department (mathematics) who fills the place more acceptably to the College authorities or to those who receive instruction. (Porter, 1904, p. 2)

Sears was cited for having been a friend to "all the best people in Nashville," and admired for her teaching ability and her high character as a Christian woman.

Porter also related an anecdote about a visit from a distinguished visitor a few years previous to this occasion. The visitor was a member of the Peabody Board and, while on a visit to the College, was conducted by the secretary through the classrooms and into a recitation led by Sears. He spent an entire hour in Sears' class and upon leaving the room said to the secretary,

> Repeat the name of the lady teacher; I want to remember her name. I have been a teacher and the head of a great college for forty years, and that was the best conducted recitation in geometry I ever heard. (Porter, 1904, p. 2)

That visitor was the Right Reverend H. B. Whipple, Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota from 1859 until his death in 1902. Whipple was living in Faribault, Minnesota (about 40 miles east of Mankato) while Sears was at Mankato Normal School. Whipple travelled around Minnesota presiding over the opening of Episcopal churches and confirming parishioners, but his schedule was such that he arrived in Mankato in late May or early June (June 7 in 1872 and May 25 in 1873) after Sears was on her way back to Massachusetts (MWRc, 25 May 1872, p.2; MWU 23 May 1873, p. 3).

The only notice concerning Mankato Normal School in the Faribault newspapers between 1872 and 1874 was a very short notice of Sears' appointment as principal in the Fall

of 1872 (Faribault Democrat, 23 August 1872, p. 2). No mention of the Sears Rebellion was ever made. During Sears' year as principal at Mankato Normal School, Whipple had an operation on his nose, Seabury Hall (which housed the divinity students of his school in Faribault) burned down, and his house almost burned down (Faribault Democrat, 6 September 1872, p. 2; Tanner, 1905; St. Peter T., 11 December 1872, p. 2). At the end of September 1873, when Sears was leaving Mankato for the last time, Whipple was back at his home in Faribault preparing for the arrival of his new private secretary (Faribault Democrat, 10 October 1873, p. 3). With such little press coverage in his hometown on the Sears Rebellion, and the various happenings in his own life from 1872 to 1874, it is very possible that Sears' presence in Mankato was not known to him. Therefore, when he visited her classroom in Nashville so many years later, her face and name were not familiar to him. What an interesting story for Sears to hear to remind her of her teaching career in Minnesota (a secret to all in Nashville), while being praised for her teaching career in Tennessee.

After this story was told at Sears' thirty-year celebration, the portrait was unveiled by one of her first students at Peabody. Professor Vance, on behalf of the faculty, then spoke in admiration of Sears' "trained intelligence" and "inspiring personality," stating that no one had contributed more to the success of Peabody College

than Sears (Vance, 1904, p. 3). Sears remained in Nashville teaching at her "beloved" Peabody another two years, for a total of 32 years.

In 1907 Sears decided to retire. She had planned to simply leave for Fairhaven on the usual summer vacation, and then not return in the Fall. However, the President felt that such a momentous occasion as her retirement should not go unremarked as there would be so many students and faculty who would wish to speak with her before she left. Sears finally agreed to an announcement, realizing that she would have regretted not expressing her appreciation to everyone (Sears, J. A., 1907).

Once again President Porter praised Sears for her invaluable service to the South and the nation, for her teaching ability, her esteemed ability to inspire students, and her intelligence. In addition, Porter praised her for being "a gentlewoman in the class-room [sic]" (Peabody College for Teachers, 1907, p. 92). Sears thanked everyone for their kindnesses over the years and stated that teaching had always been a pleasure for her at Peabody because of the "earnest appreciative spirit of the students" and because she had "always been in harmony with the President and Faculty of the College" (Sears, J. A, 1907, p. 93). To Sears, the memory of her days at Peabody would always bring pleasure; she would always call them "the best years of my life" (Sears, J. A., 1907, p. 94).

It has been estimated that Sears taught over 10,000 students who then spread all over the South during her 32 years at Peabody. The ideas and ethics she taught in the classroom and by example went with them to be passed on to others. As in Mankato more than 30 years before, Sears had inspired her students to be the very best teachers they could be. Her former students spoke glowingly of her, always asking about her at every alumni gathering. The name 'Sears' [came] so readily and lovingly to the lips of so many of [the] alumni when they [thought] of 'the old days'" (Vance, 1904, p. 4). To some, Sears was known as "the greatest teacher the South ever knew" (Peabody Alumni News, 1915).

Retirement

Carnegie Retirement Allowance

Upon retirement, Sears was honored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching as the first teacher in the South, and one of the first women in the United States, to receive a retirement pension.

The Carnegie Foundation was established by Andrew Carnegie after Carnegie was elected as trustee of Cornell University and was appalled to learn of the low salaries that professors received. In his opinion, "of all professions, that of teaching is probably the most unfairly...most meanly paid, though it should rank with the highest" (Carnegie (1920). In 1905 Carnegie established the Foundation with

$10 million, the income of which was to be used for retirement allowances for professors (Hendrick, 1933; Wall, 1970). The pension was offered to educators who had "done the most for the advancement of education" (Fairhaven Star, 19 October 1907, p. 2). By 1931 the Foundation had paid out $20 million to retiring professors, and many more to teachers and their widows (Winkler, 1931). From this endowment, Sears received $1,000 a year for the rest of her life.

Fairhaven Activities

Back in Fairhaven with her sisters, Amanda and Sarah, Sears soon became involved in community activities. She was active in the Unitarian Memorial Church, of which she was a member, and took an interest in the town's beautiful Millicent Library, as well as the social life in Fairhaven and its public affairs (JAS-CEL, 28 February 1921). Sears also served as president of the Women's Branch Alliance of the church (Fairhaven Star, 20 September 1929, p. 5).

Sometime after Sears retired, she travelled to Europe for what was referred to in the early twentieth century as "The Grand Tour." She particularly enjoyed Italy where, in Naples, she saw "the sun rise from the summit of Vesuvius" (JAS-CEL, 19 March 1923, p. 3). She also visited Rome, Venice, Florence and Pisa and rode over the Simplon Pass. A small statue and a ring, which she brought home with her, remain in the family.

While Sears was in Nashville, her family had grown and diminished over the 32 years of her stay. By returning to Massachusetts each summer to her sister Sarah's home in Fairhaven, she was able to keep in contact with them. The sisters continued to visit the Yarmouth Campgrounds each August for a family reunion. By the time Sears retired, her father, first stepmother, all four brothers-in-law (Samuel Hall, Milton Crowell, Lathrop Baker, and Rufus Smith), and her sisters, Thankful and Betsey, had died. More nieces and nephews had been born, as well as three grandnephews; two nieces, Emily and Carrie Baker, had died. One of Sears' favorite nieces, Alice C. Smith, born in 1882, followed in her Aunt Julia's footsteps, entering Bridgewater Normal School in 1899 and eventually holding the position of Assistant Principal of a junior high school in Malden, Massachusetts.

In 1911 Sears had a house built for herself and her sister, Amanda, at 29 Union Street (Fairhaven Star, 3 June 1911). This house had nine rooms: a den, living room, dining room, kitchen, and pantry, four bedrooms (one of which Sears used as her library) and two bathrooms. The house was erected on the former site of the Sawin Livery Stables in Fairhaven, the grounds measuring 7,234 square feet (Harris, 1952; Castelo Real Estate, 1994). [In the Fall of 1994 this house was being sold for $189,500.] The house was located across from the Unitarian Church and only a few blocks from

the town library. Sears is still remembered in Fairhaven today. She and her sisters are spoken of fondly as "the Sears sisters." A grandniece of Sears' housekeeper remembers Sears as a very thin, straight postured woman who was a familiar sight on the streets around the library and church (D. Paull, personal interview, September 14, 1994). She often took day trips on the street car with her sisters to New Bedford, across the river from Fairhaven.

Sears was also very interested in the new generations of her family and in their education, but she could be pointedly critical. One day in the early 1920s her grandniece, Evelyn Taylor, (who was a high school student at the time) arrived at her Great Aunt Julia's with a new hair cut. Great Aunt Julia remarked that short hair did not make Evelyn seem very intelligent (E. T. Foster, personal communication, July 6, 1994).

In June 1921 Amanda became seriously ill and Sears spent many weeks nursing her back to health (JAS-CEL, 26 June 1921). These two sisters had always been especially close. Both unmarried school teachers who took their life's work seriously, they cherished each other even more so after moving into their own home on Union Street. Sears' sister, Sarah Crowell, with whom they had lived for so many years, died in 1920, as did her sister, Emily.

Continuing Interest in George Peabody College for Teachers Fundraising

Sears continued her strong interest in Peabody, communicating often with Charles Little, a former student who was by this time a professor of Latin and Mathematics at

Peabody and an administrator of special projects. In 1919 the College began to raise funds for the construction of a dormitory. Sears corresponded with alumni, and was very interested in including them in any fund raising for the College. In September 1919 she heard from one of the early students who wrote to Sears that she was a grandmother, which made Sears wonder "how can she remember me so lovingly with all the new loves that have come to her"? (JAS-CEL, 29 September 1919). In June of 1921 Sears wrote to Little, explaining how other colleges such as Wellesley and Smith had included alumni in their development plans.

> In the colleges I have mentioned a committee divides the state into sections and determines what amount each section must raise; the graduates in each section, in different ways, go to work...If the right man or woman from each state interested in the college could be induced to undertake this plan or any plan that would appeal to the thousands who have had the advantages of Peabody College a good sum might be raised. I will start the furnishing fund with One Thousand dollars, payable to you, at any time. (JAS-CEL, 26 June 1921)

Sears later stipulated that the gift of $1,000 be used to furnish

> a nice, attractive, comfortable room where the teachers and students may enjoy a social hour together or with their friends--a room showing good taste and refinement --a <u>model</u> in <u>house furnishing</u>. (JAS-CEL, 20 October 1921)

But the fundraising was not to be hurried; that month Little noted that only $40,000 of the $150,000 needed was in hand (Little, Charles E. to Julia A. Sears [CEL-JAS] 26 October 1921). The solicitation of funds for the dormitory continued for several years.

By 1923 Sears again urged Little to try to raise the money for the dormitory, "If one wide awake young man in each state would undertake to raise it I think it could be done." And again "You have kept in touch with the men of early times. Can you not get them to undertake the work?" (JAS-CEL, 30 October 1923, p. 1). By December Sears had written a letter for Peabody College to send out under her signature to "her ten thousand friends through the South," meaning her former students, requesting $80 donations (CEL-JAS, 17 December 1923). The letter was sent to the alumni immediately. By mid-December the donations had started to arrive, some even endorsed directly to Sears (CEL-JAS, 20 December 1923).

In January 1924 Sears wrote to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, declining further payments of her retirement allowance, stating that she was no longer in need of this money. The Secretary of the Foundation immediately wrote to President Payne at Peabody requesting advice on the matter, stating "Action of this kind is so unusual that we are apt to think that it comes from a person of small means who is, if that were possible, too conscientious" (Carnegie Foundation, 18 January 1924).

What then followed were a flurry of letters from Little to Sears to convince her to not give up the allowance, but to endorse the checks over to Peabody as additional contributions to the College (CEL-JAS, 23 January 1924). A

month later, Sears had still not replied to Little's urgent plea. It was not until March 24 that she wrote to tell him that arrangements had been made with the Foundation so that she would continue to receive her checks. This answer was not her usual three or four page letter, but a short and terse note of only five sentences (JAS-CEL, 24 March 1924). Five days later she wrote again assuring Little that all was arranged and that Peabody would receive the bulk of the allowance--eventually (JAS-CEL, 29 March 1924).

By November of 1924, Amanda was again seriously ill and died on the 24th of that month. In expressing her sorrow at losing her sister, Sears wrote:

> My dear sister--the Joy of my Life--this Light of the Home has gone from me. I am now the last of the family--I am alone alone. The force of that word is borne in upon me every hour. I can think of little else. My friends say to me "you should be thankful she was spared to you so long." So I am; but the longer we lived for each other the stronger were the ties that bound us and the harder to bear when they are severed. (JAS-CEL, 4 January 1925)

Amanda left her estate of $28,000, after the payment of debts, to her sister (Sears, A., 1922). Sears gave, in memory of her sister, a fund of $700, the income of which is to provide prizes to two eighth grade students who have the highest and next highest standing in English at the Rogers School in Fairhaven, where Amanda last taught. These prizes are still presented at the school.

Dormitory Reception Room Completed

The new East Dormitory was finally completed in 1924, and the reception hall, which Sears had funded, bore a tablet in commemoration of her gift (CEL-JAS, 1 December 1924). Sears was pleased that the reception room was ready at last and suggested that books and magazines be kept in it for use by the students and faculty--"not books on college studies or methods of teaching; such books have their place, but not here--biographies, travels, good novels, poetry and the like" (JAS-CEL, 1 February 1925,
p. 3).

Sears was "physically unable to make the long journey" to Nashville for the semi-centennial of Peabody College in 1924 and "mentally...unfit to take part in anything of a public nature" (JAS-CEL, 25 January 1925, pp. 1-2). However she sent a lengthy welcome to the returning alumni and friends who would be there (JAS-CEL, 4 January 1925). The Fifty Year Celebration of Peabody College was a success, and Sears' greeting was read during the alumni banquet. On the last evening of the celebration, Sears received a telegram: "Love and Good Wishes" from representatives of the classes from 1877, 1879, 1882, 1883 and 1887. She was very touched and appreciative of these kind remembrances (JAS-CEL, 22 February 1925, p.1).

Julia A. Sears Professorship of the Teaching of Mathematics

The next project for Peabody College that Sears was to fund was a chair of mathematics. In March of 1925, Sears agreed to give the college $15,000 if the College would raise an additional $45,000 for the endowed chair, to be named The Julia A. Sears Chair of Mathematics (JAS-CEL, 31 March 1925). The race then began as Peabody tried to raise the $45,000 before Sears would die, as after her death, the contract of agreement concerning the funding of the chair would not be binding. By August, Sears was pushing Little for a status report; her legal advisor in Fairhaven was urging her to write her will, but she wanted to make sure the Chair of Mathematics was fully funded first.

Sears had definite ideas about the disposition of her money. She believed that the money she had made herself during her years in education should be returned to education. Only her inheritance from the family would be returned to the family. She agreed with George Peabody who did not believe in luxuries nor "in making rich idlers of his poor relations" (MWRv, 9 November, 1969 p. 2). However, if the chair of mathematics was not to be funded as planned, Sears proposed to give two small scholarships to the College. In the meantime, she gave a $100 scholarship to the Fairhaven High School to be used that year for a promising senior (Sears, J. A., 1925a).

By November, Sears had run out of patience with Little and cancelled the contract for the Chair of Mathematics, recognizing that Peabody College "had needs more essential...than a chair of anything" (JAS-CEL, 29 November 1925, p. 2). Little was shocked and distressed at her action and immediately asked President Payne if they could not designate $45,000 of recent pledges in their larger development drive for the chair of mathematics "so as to get Miss Sears' cash donation immediately" (CEL-JAS, 6 January 1926).

Sears finally agreed to keep to the original agreement if the Board at Peabody approved the creation of the Chair of Mathematics (JAS-CEL, 7 January 1926). Little then promised the $45,000 within 30 days, saying that it would be unrestricted funds. Sears misunderstood the word, "unrestricted," thinking that her money could then be used for items other than what she had specified; she threatened to give the money to Bridgewater (which had suffered in 1924 from a fire) or to Fairhaven High School (JAS-CEL, 12 January 1926). The Board would not act until February; in the meanwhile, Little was pulling in as much money as possible to make up the $45,000. He wrote to Sears explaining the meaning of "unrestricted" and then infuriated her by intimating that the reason she did not want to leave it to Peabody in her will was because her relatives might contest the will. Sears answered tersely:

> I am not afraid of my will being contested but I have always worked on the principle if it devolves upon you to do a thing do it now. If you have to work as hard for much of the money to carry on Peabody College as you have in proportion to get $45,000 for the Chair of Math[ematics] I am sorry for you. (JAS-CEL, 19 January 1926, p. 2)

The following day, President Payne sent a telegram to Sears stating that the professorship was finally endowed (Payne, 20 January 1926). On February 18, 1926, the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution establishing the Julia A. Sears Professorship of the Teaching of Mathematics (CEL-JAS, 25 February 1926). The money she gave for the Chair was money she had saved from the Carnegie allowance. "Coming from an education source I felt that it was best used for an educational purpose" (JAS-CEL, 3 March 1926, p. 3).

Other Interests During the Retirement Years

Gifts to Peabody and fund-raising were not the only topics of discussion between Sears and Little during these years. Sears followed the Scopes trial in Tennessee very closely. She was appalled that there were still individuals who were opposed to the teaching of evolution. She was even more disturbed to think that Peabody might lose its small state appropriation because the new state ruling prohibited the teaching of the evolution theory in a state-supported school. Sears railed against the governor and asked, "What professor will submit to having his tongue tied?" (JAS-CEL, 19 April 1925, p. 4). She praised Scopes for "making himself the victim for he must have known what would follow his

stand. He has the satisfaction of knowing that all the scientific men are standing by him" (JAS-CEL, 26 April 1925, p. 2). Still she worried about the fate of state funding for Peabody, stating "Fifty years of Peabody College and all the other institutions of learning have failed to wipe out all the ignorance in the state, and Tenn[essee] is not alone" (JAS-CEL, 26 April 1925, p. 3).

Death at Age 90

Death and Inheritance

On June 9, 1929, Sears wrote her last letter to Little. Her eyesight was very poor, but she continued to ask questions about Peabody and to delight in communications from the alumni:

> I wish I could get the ear of the Peabody Alumni Association to thank them for their tribute of "esteem and affection" that came to me a few days ago.
>
> I was lonely, sad and sick when it reached me, I had not been well for several weeks but the telegram changed the atmosphere.
>
> Nearly every day in mind I visit the good old college, mingle with old students and go over old duties. What good days they were even compared with the greater days of the present. Can it be true that the young men of my time are the leading men of the South now? I am sure they are doing a good work. (JAS-CEL, 9 June 1929)

On September 18, 1929, at the age of 90, Julia Ann Sears died in her home in Fairhaven. She had been frail for some time and was tended carefully by her housekeeper, Lizzie Delano. Since March her hearing and sight had failed almost completely, but her mind remained sharp and active. In July

her niece, Alice Smith, visited her at which time Sears was able to be up and around the house and even outside. By August she was failing fast. All her preparations had been made, so she concluded that it was time to die:

> No one could have a happier teaching life than I and now that it is over I want to go and be with my many friends on the other side. (Smith, 17 October 1929, p. 4)

To the end she thought of education and the career which was her life. In speaking with her other favorite niece, Alice's sister, Bessie Smith Taylor, she urged Bessie to write to her son, Milton, who was just finishing his Ph.D. at Iowa State College, to tell him "that he must continue in the great work which she must give up" (Taylor, 29 October 1929, p. 2). Milton Taylor did finish his Ph.D., had a career in college teaching, and in 1969 retired as Professor of Chemistry from Rutgers University.

Sears' funeral was held in her house at 29 Union Street and was attended by friends and family. The Unitarian minister conducted the service after which she was buried beside her sister, Amanda, in Riverside Cemetery, Fairhaven. Each year the schools in Fairhaven have a special day to honor educators. On that day the students take potted plants to the cemetery to put on the graves of the famous educators buried there.

In Sears' will she left $1,000 to Fairhaven High School to establish the Julia A. Sears Prize Essay Fund, the income of which is to be given annually to the senior class

writer of the best essay on some subject connected with the senior year classwork, sports excepted (Fairhaven Star, 11 October 1929). Social groups in Fairhaven who also profitted from her estate included the King's Daughters of Fairhaven, the King's Daughters' home for Aged, St. Luke's Hospital, the Millicent Library, and the Unitarian Society. Certain bequests were left to four nephews, four nieces, three grandnieces, two grandnephews and to her housekeeper. The remainder of her estate, including the house and its contents was divided between her nieces, Alice C. Smith and Bessie Taylor and her grand-niece, Helen Doane McGinnis (Sears, J. A., 1928). However her estate of $150,000 was invested mostly in stocks, and by the time it was settled, the stock crash of 1929 had reduced it considerably (E. Foster, personal interview, September 15, 1994).

Sears' Family

Sears' mother, Deborah Hopkins Sears, died in 1861, shortly after Sears graduated from Bridgewater. Her father, Constant Sears, died in Brewster on July 13, 1887, and was believed to be buried beside his brother, Elisha, in the Old Sears Cemetery between Brewster and Dennis (Sears, L. R., 1992). However his gravestone is beside Deborah's in the Quivet Cemetery, where it has been since the 1930s (E. T. Foster, personal communication, January 18, 1995). Buried together in Quivet are Constant, Deborah Hopkins Sears, Dorothy Eldridge Sears (Constant's second wife), Mary Ann

Sears and Charles L. Nickerson (who was living with Constant, perhaps as an apprentice, in 1860) (Derick, 1993; U.S. Census, 1860).

Julia and her younger sister, Amanda, were the only Sears sisters to choose teaching as a career, the only ones not to marry. Amanda died at the age of 82. Julia, the last of the sisters to survive, died at the age of 90. Looking back through previous generations, one can see a prevalence of long life among the Sears family. Appendix 4 shows the generations following the Sears sisters.

Of the six Sears sisters who survived infancy (Figure 20), only four married. Sears' eldest sister, Thankful, who married Samuel S. Hall, had eight children. Samuel, son of Edmund and Sukey (Snow) Hall, went to sea at an early age then became a farmer (Deyo, 1890). Thankful died at the age of 79. A genealogy on the Hall family traces a few of her children, but there were many Halls in New England, making a thorough tracing of her descendants difficult. One son, Charles E., had two children: Fred Everett Hall and Ida Hall Howes. Another, Thomas S., had three children: Samuel A. Hall, Anna May Hall Page and Edna Hall Covill. Three more sons, Frederick, Elisha S. and James C. Hall, are mentioned in Sears' will. Of her son, Samuel C, nothing is known. One daughter, Helen A., married William Doane and had two children, Helen S. Doane McGinnis and Earnest Doane. Thankful and her other daughter, Susie D., are buried in Quivet Cemetery, East Dennis.

Sears' sister, Emily, married Lathrop (Lothrop) Baker in 1858 and had three children, only one of whom (Austin) married. Emily died at the age of 91. Emily's daughters, Carrie and Emily, died at the ages of 28 and 8, respectively. Her son, Austin (died 1938), married Luella Baker and had three sons: Harold S. (married Mabel Canfield and Hazel Hawes; died 1947), Melville (married Virginia Baker; died 1955) and Austin L., Jr (married Margaret Gardner). Each of these sons married, and each had one son: Donald Sears Baker (born 1919), Melville Baker (born 1923; married Betty D. Lambert) and Austin L. Baker, 3rd (born 1918; married Maud F. Wason). The author was unable to locate these three great-grandnephews of Sears.

Sarah and her husband, Milton Crowell, had no children. Sarah traveled often with her husband, bringing home treasures from the Orient, which are still part of the family's inheritance (Foster, 1994). On at least one trip, they took Amanda along. This was the voyage of "The Black Hawk" from New York to San Francisco to Liverpool to San Francisco to New York in 1867 and 1868 (Sears, A. 1868). It is not known if Julia Sears also travelled with the Crowells. Sarah lived out her years in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, dying at the age of 87.

Betsey and her husband, Rufus Smith, had two daughters: Alice C. and Bessie M. Betsey was ill most of her life and died of kidney disease about 1889, at the age of 53.

Her daughter, Alice, graduated from Bridgewater Normal School and became a teacher, teaching at the Horace Mann School in Boston and eventually becoming assistant principal of a junior high school in Malden, Massachusetts. Alice never married and was a favorite of her Aunt Julia. Bessie taught primary grades in a Chatham elementary school until her marriage to Herman Taylor. Bessie had three children: Milton Wight, Evelyn Sears, and Carolyn Elizabeth. Milton obtained his Ph.D. in Chemistry from Iowa State and retired from a professorship at Rutgers in 1969. He was married, but had no children, and died in 1989 in Chatham. Evelyn was a nurse in Boston when she met her future husband, Franklin Leroy Foster, whom she married September 20, 1930. Evelyn had two sons: Richard Sears and Alden. Richard and Alden both married. Richard, who died January 27, 1995, had four grandchildren, two of whom were twins (born October 3, 1994), named Evan and Julia. This is the first known instance of the name Julia reappearing in the family. Evelyn and her husband still live in the Smith family home in Chatham, Massachusetts. Carolyn also studied nursing; she married Harvey Adrian Robinson in 1941 and had three children: Holly, Jay, and Polly. After Robinson's death, Carolyn married Oliver Graver and now lives in Tallahassee, Florida. Carolyn's daughter, Polly, is married and lives in California; her son, Jay, is a college professor in Maryland.

Her daughter, Holly, inherited Sears' diamond ring that was given to her by Peabody College in 1899.

Biographies of Sears

There are four writings in which short biographies of Sears are found. These include two masters theses from Mankato State University: Riege (1954) and Anderson (1987), one student paper from Peabody College (Cowgill, 1937), and an article in the *Peabody Journal of Education* by Crabb (1968). Cowgill's paper, written 31 years before Crabb's article includes biographical information based on Sears' autobiographical article of 1915. Therefore what Cowgill states is essentially correct, except for the spelling of Sears' middle name (Cowgill adds an "e") and her birthdate, which is understandable since even Sears' death certificate was incorrect in stating 1840, instead of 1839. Most of the biographical information in the Anderson and Riege theses is based on Crabb's article of 1968, which has many incorrect statements.

Crabb was a local Nashville historian who wrote, among other things, novels about Nashville during the Reconstruction. In two of them, *Breakfast at the Hermitage* (1945) and *Supper at the Maxwell House* (1943), Crabb uses Sears and other Peabody educators as characters. The novels provide light reading, but should not be taken as fact, based on some of the inaccuracies in his information about Sears.

However Sears' grandniece, Evelyn Foster, agrees that his characterization of Sears is fairly accurate:

> She was tall, unbending, commanding in appearance and in performance, precise in word and action, stern in discipline. Authority was in her voice and in her carriage as she moved through the halls or along the street. Uncertainty was omitted from her composition. It was, happily, her custom to relax somewhat when she did not need to rule. (Crabb, 1945, p. 334)

Crabb's article, written in 1968, weaves more fiction amongst the facts of Sears' life until he not only has her in Mankato "allied...with a few daring ladies and fewer super-daring gentlemen then engaged in rendering democracy safe for itself through Woman's Suffrage" (Crabb, 1968, p. 140), but he actually puts dialogue into her mouth when she arrived in Mankato in the Fall of 1873 to find Hyde had also claimed the position of Assistant Principal:

> Miss Sears said that the desk was hers and for them to kindly unseat him. "I shall return in the morning. Please have my place ready for me," said Miss Sears and departed. (Crabb, 1968, p. 140)

Then Crabb put Sears on a stagecoach to return East, when the trains had been running straight through to Mankato since 1868.

Earlier in 1968, Crabb was interviewed for an article about Sears by the *Peabody Post* (23 July 1968, p. 4). For this article, he states that 1) Mankato Normal School was founded in 1874 [it was founded in 1868], 2) Sears was the first president of the school and the first woman president of a college in the country [Sears was the second president of the school and Frances Willard was the first woman

president of a college], 3) Sears was involved with womans suffrage of which "the townspeople didn't approve" so she was fired [there is no evidence that any such activity existed in Mankato at the time, and Sears was not fired], and 4) 70 students marched in protest--in 1875! [40 students went on strike--in 1873]. The article ends: "'I think the most delightful part,' winked Dr. Crabb, 'is that she is probably the only woman to ever keep a secret for 32 years.'" (Peabody Post, 23 July 1968, p. 4). It is the sincere hope of this author that the current research, in contrast to Crabb's inaccurate accounts, has revealed the true facts of Sears' life as an educator and a more plausable explanation of her tenure as a president.

Epilogue

Bridgewater Normal School is now Bridgewater State College and offers a full college curriculum. Bridgewater continues to train teachers through its School of Education, which numbers 70 faculty and approximately 1,600 undergraduates. The School of Education graduates approximately 350 undergraduates each year.

The Normal School at Farmington, Maine is now part of the University of Maine system and is known as the University of Maine at Farmington. Its College of Education, Health and Rehabilitation has 50 faculty and 1,200 undergraduate students, and graduates about 360 education majors each year.

Mankato Normal School became Mankato State Teachers College in 1921, Mankato State College in 1957, and Mankato State University in 1975, following the development of most state normal schools in the country. In the 1970s Mankato hired its second female president, Margaret Preska. Today the College of Education at Mankato State University has 70 full-time faculty and 2,400 undergraduate students. It still trains teachers, graduating about 600 undergraduates per year.

Sears is never known to have mentioned her experiences in Mankato to anyone. However she is said to have remarked to her niece, Alice Smith, one Sunday as Alice returned from church wearing a fur piece, "Alice, you look like a trapper with that fur around your neck!" (E. Foster, personal interview, September 15, 1994), a comment that could have been said by anyone, but now gains in significance to her family, who never knew Sears had been in Minnesota until the author contacted them.

George Peabody College for Teachers, where Sears spent "the best and happiest years" (Sears, J. A., 1925b, p. 21) of her life, merged with Vanderbilt University in 1979. The college of education, known as the Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, continues to train teachers for the South and elsewhere and now attracts students from all parts of the country. The College has 100 faculty and 950 undergraduates, of which about 200 graduate per year. Sears'

portrait now hangs in North Hall; her reception room in East Dormitory is still being used by the students.

SUMMARY

Summary and Conclusions of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the tenure and career of the first known female president of a public coeducational institution of higher education in the United States, Julia Ann Sears, answering the questions: Who was she, how was she selected, what did she achieve as a nineteenth century administrator, and what were the influences on her life which brought her to Minnesota in the late nineteenth century?

Sears came from a Cape Cod family rich in history, full of sea captains and salt manufacturers, and supportive of education. She was born on March 19, 1839, in East Dennis, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where she grew up with her five sisters. In 1859 she completed the normal school course at Bridgewater Normal School. She then taught six years in the common schools of Massachusetts, two years at Farmington Normal School, Maine, and three years at Prescott School in Boston, where she also studied mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1871 Sears followed George Gage, with whom she had worked at Farmington Normal School, to Mankato, Minnesota, to become Gage's First Assistant in the normal school there. At the end of her first year in Mankato, which was judged by many to be very sucessful, Sears returned to Massachusetts for the summer. While she was gone, Gage accepted a new job in St. Paul, leaving his position as principal at Mankato open. Finances and the deficit budget of the normal school were discussed heatedly that summer, and it was discovered that Mankato Normal School was about $1,700 in deficit. In August the local governing board announced that Sears would be promoted to the position of Principal, taking Gage's place, but at a salary $1,000 less than Gage's salary. The salary saved by hiring Sears as principal, and that saved by closing the Model Primary School, reduced the initial deficit to zero.

Sears' tenure at Mankato was successful, as judged by the students, faculty, local governing board, citizens of Mankato, and the State Normal School Board. Her changes to commencement exercises and final examinations were applauded by all. The changes made to the building that year were minimal as she strove to remain within budget and make the year "as *profitable* as pleasant" (Sears, J. A., 1872c, p. 265). However, Sears was a female in a male-defined administrative role; she had no female role model and was constricted by nineteenth century societal expectations of

women. Because she was a female, she did not fit into the role of normal school principal, as defined by society. So while her year was successful in terms of school progress and student satisfaction, her tenure lacked the expected political tone, the networking, and the male bonding with the Board, which would have been natural during the tenure of a male principal, skills which twentieth century research indicates are so important to the success of an administrator.

At the end of Sears' year as principal, the local governing board was abolished by the State Normal School Board as it pushed for stronger central control of the normal schools. The faculty of Mankato Normal School all left at the end of the year, as did the faculty of St. Cloud Normal School and more than half of the faculty at Winona Normal School. The principal of Winona Normal School was strongly reprimanded by the State Board for wrongdoings, and a new principal was chosen for Mankato for replace Sears--a principal with no apparent teaching or normal school experience, but: a male.

The following August, Sears was offered the position of First Assistant at Mankato at a salary $300 less than she had received the previous year. The offer was engineered to be as distasteful as possible to her, yet to sound like a genuine offer. When she accepted the offer only for one term, and after miscommunications between board members and

herself, the position was denied her by the Board. Sears returned to Massachusetts while students went on strike and citizens signed petitions in protest of Sears' dismissal.

Two years later, Sears went to Nashville, Tennessee, to help start the normal school there, which was to become the George Peabody College for Teachers. Her 32 years at Peabody College as head of mathematics were, by her own testimony, the happiest years of her life. There she found not only the kind of students she loved to teach, but also the faculty and administration which brought much pleasure to her life. Once again Sears was praised as a teacher and educator. This time she was not in an administrative position; this time she was valued as a teacher, as documented by the tributes at her thirtieth year celebration and her retirement. Perhaps the time had not yet come for a female to head a public, coeducational institution of higher education.

Sears taught for 45 years; 36 of these years were in normal schools in the United States. During those 36 years she trained over 10,000 teachers who taught all over the South, and several hundred more who taught throughout Minnesota and Maine. In Nashville, she was praised as the greatest teacher the South had ever known (Cowgill, 1937). While Sears made her most valued contribution to education at Peabody College in Nashville, she made significant contributions at every school where she taught.

Sears believed a teacher must understand the student, respect and inspire each student to do his or her best, and then demand the very best. Her honesty, her courage, and her steadfastness are seen throughout her life, as she moved alone across the country, successfully held an administrative position never before experienced by a woman, and dedicated her life to her students and the role of American education in the nineteenth century.

Sears' experience as an early female president in 1872 opened the door for other female presidents over the next 100 years. As more females have become presidents, society has become more comfortable with changes in the defined role of the administrator, as is evidenced by the significant increase in female presidents over the past 10 years. The increase of female role models and female mentors for women in administration has further assisted female administrators to become self-defined, accepting themselves within their role as women and fitting their administrative role to suit them, rather than trying to fit themselves into the societally defined roles of woman and administrator--roles which are often in conflict. Sears was the earliest to meet this challenge within the public sector, where female presidents deal with not only governing boards, but also citizens who believe they have a vested interest in the institution because it is supported by their tax dollars. She met this challenge without a role model, without a

supportive mentor, without networking, and without an understanding of the politics expected of administrators. Yet she met this challenge wholeheartedly, creating a constituency within the local community, among her students, and throughout other parts of the state who would defend her right to the administrative position she had held so dearly. Through all the struggles, the successes, and the naivete' of her tenure as president, Sears believed that what she had accomplished was significant. Her failure in the eyes of the Board, simply because she was a woman, created such doubt and indignity within her that she never spoke of her experience in Mankato nor did she ever again seek an administrative position in education.

Suggested Future Research

The nature of historical research on women is in itself an enigma, for women in history have been identified by husbands, fathers, and brothers, not by mothers, daughters, or sisters. Genealogies are written following the male lineage--a difficult case for Sears who had no husband and only sisters.

In conducting historical research on women, one often encounters difficulties in finding any remnants of their lives. Women teachers are often known only through statistics that appear. "Their lives, conflicts, and contributions, are often lost in the process" (Cordier, 1992, p. 3). For instance, women often held multiple jobs, thus

did not appear in statistical studies of working females. "We were always led to believe that women were not around because they had done so little. But the more I read, the more I discovered how much women had in fact done" (Rowbotham, 1976, p. xvi). As Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., said, "The forgotten man [in history] is nothing to the forgotten woman" (Stratton, 1981, p. 12). Rediscovering women's history assists the current generation in understanding woman's current place within today's culture.

In education research, a major difficulty is the destruction of records since the nineteenth century, as the art of the archivist did not fully emerge until after the middle of the twentieth century. Also there seemed to have been quite a few fires at educational institutions in the 1920s, such as the ones at Mankato in 1922 and Bridgewater in 1924. These two fires destroyed much material that would have been valuable to this author. These difficulties bring a challenge to historical research in education.

There is a need for further research in both the areas of women leaders and educational leaders, as today's educators struggle with twenty-first century challenges in education and look to the past for clues to today's dilemmas. For instance, the history of the State Normal School Board in Minnesota might be investigated looking for clues to the behavior of today's state governing boards. There seems to have been a considerable amount of intrigue within the Board

in Minnesota as it played for control of the normal schools in the state. How has this control changed over the years now that the state normal schools have become state universities? How do their plots for control in the nineteenth century compare to the political moves of today's state governing boards as they, too, attempt to tighten central control of public education?

The biographies and tenures of Kate Zaneis, Ruth Haas, and Rita Bolt, as the next three presidents of public institutions of higher education should also be documented. How have changes in women's rights and acceptance of females in higher education improved the academic atmosphere for female presidents? Do biographers, who have experienced feminist scholarship, examine these women differently today than they might have in the past?

Mankato State University has had two female presidents during its existence, about 100 years apart. A third study might compare the presidential tenures of Julia Sears and Margaret Preska. What other four-year state universities or colleges have had more than one female president? What influenced Mankato to choose its second female president? And what influence did Sears' tenure have on Preska?

Over 10,000 teachers were trained by Sears between 1875 and 1907. Five of the women she trained became faculty members of normal schools and colleges; two women became administrators. A fourth study might be the investigation of

these women, examining Sears' influence on them, and their influence on others.

A final investigation--one that has intrigued the author many times during the current study--would be a search to find the "Black Books" of the public schools in Boston. These books were evaluations of teachers which were written by supervisors in the public schools of Boston in the mid-1800s. The books were kept confidential, open only to members of the Board of Supervisors. Their whereabouts are, at this time, a mystery. Surely they would contain much about the women teaching in the Boston public schools in the nineteenth century, including the introduction of teacher examinations, the influence of normal schools to the public school curriculum, and even the impact of the Boston fire of 1872 on the public schools.

In both fields of study, the history of women and the history of education, there are many studies waiting to be investigated, analyzed, and documented. All that awaits them is the energy, the honesty, the inspiration, and the intelligence of a Julia Ann Sears.

REFERENCES

Adams, F. (1969). The free school system in the United States. New York: Arno Press & N.Y. Times. (Original work published 1875)

American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education. (1992). Women chief executive officers in U.S. Colleges and universities (Table 13, April 15, 1992). Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

American Universities & Colleges (14th ed.). (1992). New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Anderson, D. L. (1987). Mankato Normal School: The foundation years, 1868-1880. Unpublished master's thesis, Mankato State University, Mankato, MN.

Anthony, K. (1954). Susan B. Anthony: Her personal history and her era. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company.

Apollonio, T. D. (1923). Boston public schools: Past and present, with some reflections on their charactersand characteristics. Boston: Alright & Potter.

Atkins, A. (1984). Harvest of grief: Grasshopper plagues and public assistance in Minnesota, 1873-78. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Barnard, H. (1851). Normal schools, and other institutions, agencies, and means designed for the professional education of teachers. (In 2 Pts.). Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany & Company.

Barrax, J. D. (1986). A comparative career profile of female and male university administrators. In Farrant, P. A., (Ed.). (1986). Strategies and attitudes: Women in educational administration (pp. 59-64). Washington, DC: National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors.

Beaver, A. (1872, January 9). Normal Schools. Mankato Weekly Review, p. 1.

Beecher, C. E. (1965). Essay on education of female teachers. In Cross, B. M. (Ed.). (1965). The educated woman in America: Selected writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller, and M. Carey Thomas (pp. 67-75). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Beecher, C. E. (1874). Educational reminiscences and suggestions. New York: J. B. Ford & Company.

Beecher, C. E. (1992). Reports on western schools. (See Nancy Woloch. Early American women: A documentary history, 1600-1900 (pp. 233-236). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth).

Bennett, J. (1971). Strictures on female education: Chiefly as it relates to the culture of the heart. New York: Source Book Press. (Original work published 1795)

Bidwell, J. K. and Clason, R. G. (Eds.). (1970). Readings in the history of mathematics education. Washington, DC: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

Birnbaum, R. (1990). How colleges work: The cybernetics of academic organization and leadership. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Bishop, H. E. (1857). Floral home; or first years of Minnesota. Early sketches, later settlements, and further development. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Company.

Blue Earth County Historical Society (1995, January 11). File search by historian Carol Oney, Blue Earth County Historical Society, Mankato, MN.

Bolin, W. D. W. (1977). Harriet E. Bishop: Moralist and Reformer. In B. Stuhler & G. Kreuter (Eds.). Women of Minnesota:Selected biographical essays (pp. 7-19). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Boston (1869). Boston City Directory. Boston, MA: Author.

Boston (1870). Boston City Directory. Boston, MA: Author.

Boston (1871). Boston City Directory. Boston, MA: Author.

Bowen, R. E. (1988). Women presidents of baccalaureate institutions: A personal and professional profile (Doctoral dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1988). Dissertation Abstracts International, 50, 370.

Boyden, A. C. (1933). The history of Bridgewater Normal School. Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater Normal Alumni Association.

Brackett, A. C. (Ed.). (1893). Woman and the higher education. New York: Harper & Bros.

Brewster. (1976). Brewster: A Cape Cod town remembered. Brewster, MA: Brewster Historical Society.

Bridgewater. (1862). Catalogue and circular of the state normal school at Bridgewater, Mass. for the fall and winter term, 1861-2. North Bridgewater, MA: George Phinney.

Bridgewater. (1915a). Seventy-fifth anniversary of the State Normal School Bridgewater, Mass., June 19, 1915. Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis.

Bridgewater. (1915b). Who's Who: Seventy-fifth anniversary, State Normal School Bridgewater, Mass. Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis.

Brown, J. (1872, August 6). Judge Brown on normal schools. Mankato Weekly Review, p. 3.

Brownson, L. B., Held, G. W., & Norton, D. V. (Compilers). (n.d.). Genealogical notes of Cape Cod families [Notebook No. 22: Hopkins to Hoxie]. Located at Barnstable, MA: Sturgis Library, Lothrop Room.

Butchart, R. E. (1986). Local schools: Exploring their history. Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History.

Campbell, R. F., Corbally, J. E. & Hystrand, R. O. (1983). Introduction to educational administration. Newton, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Caird, J. (1973). Prairie farming in America, with notes by the way on Canada and the United States. New York: D. Appleton & Company (Original work published 1859)

Carnegie, A. (1920). Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Carnegie Foundation. (1924, January 18). Letter to President of Peabody College for Teachers. Typed original document in Charles E. Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Special Collections.

Carpenter, C. (1963). History of American schoolbooks. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Castelo Real Estate. (1994, September 15). Description of house for sale at 29 Union Street, Fairhaven, Massachusetts.

Catt, C. C. & Shuler, N. R. (1923). Woman suffrage and politics: The inner story of the suffrage movement. New York: Scribner and Sons.

Chamberlain, M. L. (1988) Women in academe: Progress and prospects. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Chase, S. & Chase, L. (1992). Teaching the freedman. (see N. Woloch. Early American women: A documentary history, 1600-1900 (pp. 396-402). Belmont CA: Wadsworth.)

Cheney, E. (1881). The women of Boston. In J. Winsor (Ed.). The memorial history of Boston including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880. Vol. 4. The last hundred years, (Pt. 2) (pp. 331-356). Boston, MA: Ticknor & Company.

Clark, A. G. (1993). They built clipper ships in their back yard. Dennis, MA: Clark Imprints.

Clarke, Edward H. (1972). Sex in education, or a fair chance for the girls. New York: Arno Press. (Original work published 1873)

Clemenceau, G. (1969). American reconstruction, 1865-1870. (Margaret Mac Veagh, Trans.). New York: Plenum (Original work published 1869)

Clifford, G. J. (1988). Women's liberation and women's professions: Reconsidering the past, present and future. In John Mack Faragher & Florence Howe (Eds.). Women and higher education in American history (pp. 165-182). New York: Norton & Company.

Clifford, G. J. (Ed.). (1989a). Lone voyagers: Academic women in coeducational universities, 1870-1937. New York: The Feminist Press, City University of New York.

Clifford, G. J. (1989b). Man/woman/teacher: Gender, family, and career in American educational history. In Donald Warren (Ed.). American teachers: Histories of a profession at work (pp. 293-343). New York: Macmillan.

Cohen, M. D. & March, J. G. (1986). Leadership and ambiguity: The American college president. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Colburn, W. (1830). Teaching of arithmetic. In J. Bidwell & R. G. Clason (Eds.). Readings in the history of mathematics education. (pp. 24-37). Washington, DC: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

Cole, H. E. (1930). Stagecoach and tavern tales of the old northwest. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Co.

Collins, N. W., Gilbert, S. K., & Nycum, S. H. (1988). Women leading: Making tough choices on the fast track. Lexington, MA: Stephen Greene Press.

Congregational Church of Mankato. (1887). Book one with records of members from August 28, 1870 to May 1, 1887. Unpublished handwritten records. Mankato, MN: Multi-church Center.

Cooper, C. H. (1904). State Normal School. (see City of Mankato. Mankato: Its first fifty years, 1852-1902 (pp. 69-73). Mankato, MN: Free Press Printing.)

Cooper, D. S. (1992). A case study of the perceived characteristics and life events that enabled four women to become university presidents (Doctoral dissertation, University of La Verne, 1992). Dissertation Abstracts International, 53, 2701.

Cordier, M. H. (1992). Schoolwomen of the prairies and plains: Personal narratives from Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, 1860s-1920s. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Cott, N. F. (1977). The bonds of womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Cottrell, D. M. (1993). Pioneer woman educator: The progressive spirit of Annie Webb Blanton. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press.

Cowgill, L. (1937). Research in the history of southern education: Julia Anne Sears, 1840 - 1929. Unpublished student paper (March 31, 1937), George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, TN.

Crabb, A. L. (1943). Supper at the Maxwell House: A novel of recaptured Nashville. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

Crabb, A. L. (1945). Breakfast at the Hermitage: A novel of Nashville rebuilding. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

Crabb, A. L. (1968). A most remarkable woman. Peabody Journal of Education, 46 (3), 139-41.

Cross, B. M. (Ed.). (1965). The educated woman in America: Selected writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller, and M. Carey Thomas. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Cubberley, E. P. (1919). Public education in the United States: A study and interpretation of American educational history. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Cubberley, E. P. (1920). Readings in the history of education: A collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational practice, theory, and organization. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Cubberley, E. P. (1948). The history of education: Educational practice and progress considered as a phase of the development and spread of western civilization. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Davies, E. (1866). The higher education of women. London: Alexander Strahan.

Dennis. (n.d.). Family records of the town of Dennis. Town Hall Clerk's Office, South Dennis, MA.

Dennis. (1869). Report of the school committee of the Town of Dennis, 1868-9. Yarmouthport, MA: Press of the Yarmouth Register.

Derick, B. N. (1993). Cemetery inscriptions of Dennis, Massachusetts. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books.

Despain, R. L. (1991) A profile of women presidents in public associate degree institutions in the United States (Doctoral dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1991). Dissertation Abstracts International, 52, 1652.

Deyo, S. L. (Ed.). (1890). History of Barnstable County, Mass., 1620-1890. New York: N. W. Blake.

Dickinson College. (1995, January 13). File search by Parker Hays, Archivist. Carlisle, PA: Dickinson College, Special Collections.

Dictionary of American biography. (1958). New York: Scribner.

Dillingham, G. A. (1989). The foundation of the Peabody tradition. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Dorr, R. C. (1928). Susan B. Anthony: The woman who changed the mind of a nation. New York: Frederick A. Stokes.

Du Bois, E. C. (1978). Feminism and suffrage: The emergence of an independent women's movement in America, 1848-1869. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

East Dennis. (1934). Educational and home-coming week at East Dennis, Massachusetts July 29 - August 5, 1934. [pamphlet]. Located at Barnstable, MA: Cape Cod Community College, Cape Cod History Room.

Edwards, R. (1873, August 5). The duties and dangers of normal schools. A speech read by D. B. Hagar at the meeting of the Normal Department of the National Education Association. (see National Education Association. The addresses and Journal of proceedings of the National Education Association, Session of the year 1873 (pp. 164-172). Peoria, IL: Author.)

Een, A. (1994). The quick and the dead: My Mankato Minnesota legacy. A Minnesota River Valley Review, IV (1), 9-14.

Elson, R. M. (1964). Guardians of traditions: American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Evans, S. M. (1989) Born to liberty: A history of women in America. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan.

Fairhaven Star. (1907-1929). Newspaper. Fairhaven, MA: Author.

Faragher, J. M. & Howe, F. (Eds.). (1988). Women and higher education in American history. New York: Norton & Company.

Faribault Democrat. (1871-1874). Newspaper. Faribault, MN: Author.

Farmington. (1922). Graduate catalog. Farmington, ME: University of Maine at Farmington.

Farmington. (1957). Graduate catalog. Farmington, ME: University of Maine at Farmington.

Farrant, P. A. (Ed.). (1986). Strategies and attitudes: Women in education administration. Washington, DC: National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors.

Featherman, S. (1994). Increasing the number of women presidents. Women in Higher Education, 3 (5), 7.

Federal Writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration for the state of Massachusetts. (1937). Massachusetts: A guide to its places and people. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Fisher, J. L. (1984). Power of the Presidency. New York: MacMillan.

Flexner, E. (1959). Century of struggle: The woman's rights movement in the United States. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Fobbs, J. (1988). Barriers and biases toward women: Impediments to administrative progression. Paper presented at the annual Burlington International Women's Week. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 297 669).

Folwell, W. W. (1926). A history of Minnesota in four volumes. (Vol. 3). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Godey. (1853). Editors' Table: Free normal schools for female teachers of common schools. Godey's Ladies Book, 46, 176-177.

Goodchild, L. F. & Wechsler, H. S. (Eds.). (1989). ASHE Reader on the history of higher education. Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press.

Goodsell, W. (Ed.). (1970). Pioneers of women's education in the United States: Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyons. New York: AMS Press. (Original work published 1931)

Graham, P. (1978). Expansion and exclusion: A history of women in American higher education. Signs: J. of Women in Culture & Society, 3 (4), 759-773.

Green, M. F., Ross, M. & Holmstrom, E. (1988). The American college president: A contemporary profile. A National Presidents' Study, Center for Leadership Development. Washington, DC: American Council on Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 311 747).

Gulliford, A. (1984). America's country schools. Washington, DC: The Preservation Press.

Hall, S. (1973). History of common schools in Blue Earth County. Unpublished master's thesis, Mankato State College, Mankato, MN.

Hamlin, A. (1990). The president as salesman. Educational Record (Winter), 11-14.

Harris, C. A. (1952). Old-time Fairhaven. (Vols. 1-3). New Bedford, MA: Reynolds Printing.

Harwell, S. (1994, January 16). File Search by Sara Harwell, Archivist, Special Collections, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Hay, J. (1976). An Introduction. (see Brewster. Brewster: A Cape Cod town remembered (p. 1). Brewster, MA: Brewster Historical Society.)

Held, G. V. (Compiler). (n.d.). Genealogical notes of Cape Cod families: Yarmouth vital records of children. Located at Barnstable, MA: Sturgis Library, Lothrop Room.

Hendrick, B. J. (1933). The life of Andrew Carnegie. London: Heinemann.

Henry, R. S. (1963). The story of reconstruction. Gloucester, MA: Bobbs-Merrill.

Herbst, J. (1989). Teacher preparation in the nineteenth century: Institutions and purposes. In Donald Warren (Ed.). American teachers: Histories of a profession at work (pp. 213-256). New York: Macmillan.

Hesseltine, W. B. (1963). Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. Gloucester, MA: Confederate.

Higher Education & National Affairs. (1993). Share of women, minority presidents up slightly. Higher Education & National Affairs, 42 (16), 1.

Howe, J. W. (Ed.). (1874). Sex and education. A reply to Dr. E. H. Clarke's "Sex in education." Boston, MA: Roberts Brothers.

Howes, H. H. (1934). History of Barnstable Co. Schools. (see East Dennis. Educational and home-coming week at East Dennis, Massachusetts July 29 - August 5, 1934 (pp. 10-17). Located at Barnstable MA: Cape Cod Community College, Cape Cod History Room.)

Hubbard, L. F. & Holcombe, R. I. (1908). Minnesota in three centuries. (Vol. 3: 1858-Minnesota as a state- 1870). Mankato, MN: Free Press.

Hubbart, H. C. (1936). The older middle west, 1840-1880: Its social, economic and political life and sectional tendencies before, during and after the Civil War. New York: D. Appleton-Century.

Hughes, T. (1909). A history of Blue Earth County. Chicago, IL: Middle West.

Hyde, C. W. G. (1901, February 13). Personal Letter to W. W. Pendergast, Typewritten original document. (Biography files: file No. A .P397, box 5). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, .

Hyman, H. M. (Ed.). (1966). New frontiers of the American reconstruction. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Jablonski, M. A. (1992). Leadership styles of women college presidents (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 1992). Dissertation Abstracts International, 53, 676.

Jarchow, M. E. (1973). Private liberal arts colleges in Minnesota: Their history and contributions. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

James, E. T., James, J. W. & Boyer, P. S. (1971). Notable American women. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

John, David Clarke. (1873). Report of the Mankato Normal School. (see State of Minnesota (1873a). Executive documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1873. St. Paul, MN: Press Printing.)

Junior & Community College Research. (1981). The 1981 research report to the Texas Association of Junior & Community Colleges Instructional Administrators. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 211 129).

Kane, J. (1981). Famous First Facts (4th ed.). New York: H. W. Wilson.

Kaufman, P. W. (1984). Women teachers on the frontier. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kerr, C. & Gade, M. L. (1986). The Many Lives of Academic Presidents: Time, Place and Character. Washington, DC: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges.

Kiehle, D. L. (1903). Education in Minnesota. (Pts. 1 & 2). Minneapolis, MN: H. W. Wilson.

Kipetz, S. L. (1990). Seven women college presidents: Aspects of self and work (Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1990). Dissertation Abstracts International, 51, 3644.

Kittredge, H. C. (1935). Shipmasters of Cape Cod. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Landon, M. (1866). Minnesota. The Ladies Repository, 26 (29), 449-451.

Leslie, F. (1863, January 13). Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, p. 300.

Linden, G. M. (1975). "Radical" political and economic policies: The senate, 1873-1877. In Robert P. Swierenga (Ed.). Beyond the Civil War synthesis: Political essays of the Civil War era (pp. 233-242). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Little, C. E. (1911-1929). Personal correspondence dated 3 February 1911 through 24 April 1929. Specific letters cited 26 October 1921 through 25 February 1926. Unpublished handwritten letters. Located in Charles E.

Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Special Collections.

Littlefield, G. E. (1904). Early schools and school-books of New England. Boston, MA: The Club of Odd Volumes, University Press of Cambridge.

Livermore, M. A. (1883). What shall we do with our daughters?: Superfluous women and other lectures. Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard.

Loehr, R. C. (1963). The state of Minnesota, 1860-1870. Gopher Historian, 17 (3), 6-9.

Lundin, V. E. (1990). At the bend in the river: An illustrated history of Mankato and North Mankato. Chatsworth, CA: Windsor Publications.

Lutz, A. (1959). Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, crusader, humanitarian. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Mallett, R. P. (1974). University of Maine at Farmington: A study in educational change (1864-1974). Freeport, ME: Bond Wheelwright.

Mankato, City of. (1903). Mankato: Its first fifty years, 1852-1902. Mankato, MN: Free Press Printing.

Mankato Free Press. (1952). Newspaper. Mankato, MN: Author.

Mankato Public Library. Pamphlet File. Mankato, MN.

Mankato State Normal School. (1878). Catalogue of the State Normal School Mankato, Minnesota, 1877-78. Cincinnati, OH: Elm Street Printing.

Mankato State Normal School Alumni Association. (1891). Biographical directory and condensed history of the Alumni Association of the State Normal School, Mankato, Minnesota: 1870-1890. Mankato, MN: Free Press Printing.

Mankato State University. Photographs of Faculty, 1872-73. From the file of Alva Swain. Mankato, MN: Mankato State University, Southern Minnesota Historical Center.

Mankato Weekly Record. (1869-1874). Newspaper. Mankato, MN: Author.

Mankato Weekly Review. (1869-1874). Newspaper. Mankato, MN: Author.

Mankato Weekly Union. (1869-1874). Newspaper. Mankato, MN: Author.

Martin, G. H. (1915). The Bridgewater spirit. (see Bridgewater (1915a). Seventy-fifth anniversary of the State Normal School Bridgewater, Mass., June 19, 1915. (pp. 10-18). Bridgewater, MA: Arthur H. Willis, Printer.)

May, S. P. (1890). The descendants of Richard Sares(Sears) of Yarmouth, Mass. 1638-1888. Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons.

McGee, M. (1979). Women college and university presidents: Their personal and professional characteristics, career development patterns, and opinions about their roles (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1979). Dissertation Abstracts International, 40, 4330.

McGill, C. L. T. (1989). Women college presidents as leaders of educational reform (1880-1910) (Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1989). Dissertation Abstracts International, 50, 3812.

McLaughlin, J. B. & Riesman, D. (1990). Choosing a college president: Opportunities and constraints. Princeton, NJ: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

M'Conkey, H. F. B. (1978). Dakota war whoop; or Indian massacres and war in Minnesota. New York: Garland. (Original work published 1863)

Mertz, N., Welch, O. & Henderson, J. (1990). Executive mentoring: myths, issues, strategies. Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 323 635)

Methodist-Episcopal Church of Mankato. (n.d.). Church Record Book. Unpublished, handwritten records. Located at Mankato, MN: Multi-church Center.

Millersville University. (1995, January 13). File search by Dorothea Zimmerman, Archivist. Millersville, PA: Millersville University, Archives.

Minneapolis Daily Evening Times. (1872-1874). Newspaper. Minneapolis, MN: Author.

Minneapolis Tribune. (1872-1874). Minneapolis, MN: Author.

Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). Photograph Collection. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Minnesota Historical Society. (n.d.). Minnesota Historical Society Collections. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Minnesota, State of. (1865). General laws of the State of Minnesota passed during the seventh session of the state legislature. St. Paul, MN: Frederick Driscoll/Press Printing.

Minnesota, State of. (1867). Journal of the House of Representatives of the ninth session of the legislature of the State of Minnesota. St. Paul, MN: M. J. Olum, Printer.

Minnesota, State of. (1870). Journal of the house of representatives of the twelfth session of the legislature of the State of Minnesota. St. Paul, MN: Press Printing.

Minnesota, State of. (1872). Executive documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1872 (Vol. 2). St. Paul, MN: St. Paul Press Printing.

Minnesota, State of. (1873a). Executive documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1873. St. Paul, MN: Press Printing.

Minnesota, State of. (1873b). General laws of the State of Minnesota passed during the fifteenth session of the state legislature. St. Paul, MN: Press Printing.

Minnesota State of. (1873c). Journal of the House of Representatives of the fifteenth session of the legislature of the State of Minnesota. St. Paul, MN: Press Printing.

Mitau, G. T. (1977). Minnesota's colleges of opportunity: From normal schools to teachers colleges and state university system--a century of academic change in Minnesota. Minnesota: Alumni Associations of the Minnesota State University System.

Moore, K. M. (1982). Women and minorities: Leaders in transition: A national study of higher education administrators. Washington, DC: American Council on Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 225 459)

Morgan, E. S. (1966). The Puritan family: Religion & domestic relations in seventeenth-century New England. New York: Harper & Row.

Morris, L. L. W. (Ed.). (1976). Old rail fence corners: Frontier tales told by Minnesota pioneers. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press. (Original work published 1914)

Morrison, A. M. (1992). The new leaders: Guidelines on leadership diversity in America. San Francisco, CA: Jossey- Bass.

Morton, W. L. (1966). Canada and reconstruction, 1863-79. In Harold M. Hyman (Ed.). New frontiers of the American reconstruction (pp. 117-121). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Nason, J. W. & Axelrod, N. R. (1980). Presidential search: A guide to the process of selecting and appointing college and university presidents. Washington, DC: Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 238 358)

National Education Association. (1873). The addresses and journal of proceedings of the National Education Association, Session of the year 1873. Peoria, IL: Author.

Newcomer, M. (1959). A century of higher education for American women. Washington, DC: Zenger.

North, J. D. (1992). Strangers in a strange land: Women in higher education administration. Initiatives, J. of NAWE, 54 (2), 43-53.

Norton, A. O. (Compiler). (1926). The first state normal school in America: The journals of Cyrus Pierce and Mary Swift. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ohles, John F. (Ed.). (1978). Biographical dictionary of American educators. (Vol. 1). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

On Campus with Women. (1984). Association of American Colleges (13 (4); 14 (1)). (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 248 743).

Ostar, R. H, (Ed.). (1986). The partnership model: A family perspective on college presidency. Washington, DC: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Palmer, A. F. (1889). A review of the higher education of women. In Anna C. Brackett (Ed.). (1893). Woman and the higher education, (pp. 103-130). New York: Harper & Bros.

Palmieri, P. A. (1987). From republican motherhood to race suicide: Arguments on the higher education of women in the United States, 1820-1920. In Lester F. Goodchild, & Harold S. Wechsler (Eds.). (1989). ASHE Reader on the history of higher education (pp. 146-153). Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press.

Payne, B. R. (1926, 20 January). Telegram to Julia A. Sears. Original document in Charles E. Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Special Collections.

Payne, P. G. (1990). Power communication skills in three female college presidents: A descriptive study (Doctoral dissertation, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1990). Dissertation Abstracts International, 51, 4035.

Peabody Alumni News. (n.d.). Newsletter. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Peabody College for Teachers.

Peabody College for Teachers. (1904). Brief addresses by James D. Porter and Hiram Albert Vance commemorative of thirty years of service by Julia A. Sears, Professor of Mathematics in George Peabody College for Teachers. Delivered in the College Chapel, December 8, 1904. Nashville, TN: Author.

Peabody College for Teachers. (1905). Another portrait added to the collection in the University of Nashville chapel. The Peabody Record, 13 (4), 172-76.

Peabody College for Teachers. (1907). Resignation of Miss Sears. University of Nashville Bulletin of Information. Faculty Reports, 92-94.

Peabody Post. (1968). Newspaper. Nashville, TN: Author.

Philip, E. A. (Ed.). (1948). The Alden letters, 1945-1948. Mimeographed newsletters in a notebook. Located at Fairhaven, MA: Millicent Library.

Porter, J. D. (1904). Address. (see Peabody College for Teachers (1904). Brief addresses by James D. Porter and Hiram Albert Vance commemorative of thirty years of service by Julia A. Sears, Professor of Mathematics in George Peabody College for Teachers. Delivered in the College Chapel, December 8, 1904, (1-3).)

Prudential Committee, Mankato Normal School. (1871). Minutes, 28 August 1868 - 16 October 1871. Unpublished, original, handwritten documents. Account No. 23, Box 1, Folder 1. Mankato, MN: Mankato State University, Southern Minnesota Historical Center

Purington, G. C. (1889). History of the State Normal School Farmington, Maine with sketches of the teachers and graduates. Farmington, ME: Press of Knowlton, McLeary & Company.

Quinn, W. P. (1993). The saltworks of historic Cape Cod. Orleans, MA: Parnassus Imprints.

Ray, J. (1977). Maud Hart Lovelace and Mankato. In B. Stuhler & G. Kreuter (Eds.). Women of Minnesota. Selected biographical essays, (pp. 155-172). St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Read, P. J. & Witlieb, B. L. (1992). The book of women's firsts. New York: Random House.

Reid, N. T. (1995). Dennis, Cape Cod: From firstcomers to newcomers. Period IV (Chapter 6). Unpublished manuscript.

Riege, R. (1954). The development of Mankato Normal School from 1870-1876. Unpublished master's thesis, Mankato Teachers College, Mankato, MN.

Riesman, D. (1983). Selection procedures for college and university presidents: Search and destroy missions? Address delivered at the Rev. Charles F. Donavan Lecture Series, Boston College, School of Education, Chestnut Hill, MA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 234 690)

Rose, A. P. (1963). The blizzard of 1873. Gopher Historian, 18 (2), 7-9.

Rosener, J. B. (1990). The ways women lead. Harvard Business Review, 68 (6), 119-125.

Ross, M. D. (1964). The book of Boston: The Victorian Period, 1837-1901. New York: Hastings House.

Rossi, A. S. & Calderwood, A. (1973). Academic women on the move. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rowbotham, S. (1976). Hidden from history: Rediscovering women in history from the 17th century to the present. New York: Random House.

Rudolph, F. (1989). Curriculum: A history of the American undergraduate course of study since 1636. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rury, J. L. (1989). Who became teachers? The social characteristics of teachers in American history. In David Warren (Ed.). American teachers: Histories of a profession at work (pp. 9-48). New York: Macmillan.

Ryan, M. (1993). Women's challenge to higher education. Academe, 79 (3), 22-27.

Ryan, M. P. (1982). The empire of the mother: American writing about domesticity, 1830-1860. New York: Haworth Press.

St. Cloud Journal. (1873-1874). Newspaper. St. Cloud, MN: Author.

St. Peter Tribune. (1871-1874). Newspaper. St. Peter, MN: Author.

St. Paul Daily Press. (1872-1874). Newspaper. St. Paul, MN: Author.

Sanford-Harris, J. L. (1990). A profile of black women college presidents and chief executive offiers (Doctoral dissertation, Boston College, 1990). Dissertation Abstracts International, 51, 3342.

Savage, J. (1965). A genealogical dictionary of the first settlers of New England, showing three generations of those who came before May, 1692, on the basis of farmer's register. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical.

Schultz, E. L., Montoya, A. L. & Briere, P. M. (1992). Perceptions of institutional climate. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 353 234).

Sears, A. F. (1868). Journal of Ship "Black Hawk" kept by Amanda F. Sears. Unpublished, original, handwritten manuscript. In the possession of the author.

Sears, A. F. (1922). Will and probate package, Probate No. 53377, 1924. Taunton, MA: Bristol County Court House.

Sears, J. A. (1872a). Miss Sears' Report. In Normal School Closing Exercises, Mankato Weekly Union, 27 December 1872, p. 2.

Sears, J. A. (1872b). Normal School. Mankato Weekly Union, 27 December 1872, p. 3.

Sears, J. A. (1872c). Report of the Second State Normal School at Mankato. (see State of Minnesota (1872). Executive documents of the State of Minnesota for the year 1872 (Vol. 2,) (pp. 263-265). St. Paul, MN: St. Paul Press Printing.)

Sears, J. A. (1873a). Mankato Normal School: A Card from Miss Sears. Minneapolis Evening Times, 25 September 1873, p. 2.

Sears, J. A. (1873b). Miss Sears' Card. Mankato Weekly Union, 26 September 1873, p.2 and Mankato Weekly Review, 23 September 1873, p. 2.

Sears, J. A. (1873c). Report of Miss Julia A. Sears, Principal of the Second State Normal School. Mankato Weekly Union, 24 January 1873, p. 2.

Sears, J. A. (1887, December 29). Letter to W. H. Payne. Orignal, handwritten letter. W. H. Payne file, as cited in Cowgill (1937). Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Special Collections.

Sears, J. A. (1891). Letter to Alice Smith. Handwritten document. Original in the possession of the author.

Sears, J. A. (1905). History of the University of Nashville. (Read February 1903 before the Woman's Association of the University of Nashville). The Peabody Record, 13 (4), 177-190.

Sears, J. A. (1907). Miss Sears said. (see Peabody College for Teachers (1907). Resignation of Miss Sears. University of Nashville Bulletin of Information. Faculty Reports, 92-94.)

Sears, J. A. (1911-1929). Personal correspondence with Charles E. Little, 24 January 1911 through 9 July, 1929. Specific letter cited: 29 September 1919 through 9 June 1929. Unpublished, handwritten letters. In Charles E. Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Special Collections.

Sears, J. A. (1915). From Miss Sears. Peabody Alumni News, 1 (1), 8-9.

Sears, J. A. (1925a). Letter from Miss Julia Sears, surviving member of the first Peabody faculty, to Dr. Payne. The Peabody Reflector, 8 (4), 13-14.

Sears, J. A. (1925b). Message of Miss Sears. The Peabody Reflector, 7 (3), 21.

Sears, J. A. (1928). Will and probate package, Probate No. 62287, 1929. Taunton, MA: Bristol County Court House.

Sears, J. H. (1906). Brewster ship masters. Yarmouthport, MA: C. W. Swift.

Sears III, L. R. (1992). Sears genealogical catalogue. Duncan, OK: Advanced Business Systems.

Shavlik, D. & Touchton, J. (1983). Toward a new era of leadership: The national identification program. New Directions for higher education, 12 (1), 47-58.

Siegel, B. L. (1985). President to spouse: Woman to women. In R. H. Ostar (Ed.). The partnership model: A family perspective on college presidency (pp. 70-79). Washington, DC: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Sigourney, L. H. (1837). Letter to young ladies (4th ed.). New York: Harper & Brothers.

Smith, A. C. (1929, October 17). Letter to Charles E. Little. Original handwritten document in Charles E. Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Library, Special Collections.

Solomon, B. M. (1985). In the company of educated women: A history of women in higher education in America. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sprague, J. A. (Compiler). (1894). History of the New England Women's Club from 1868-1893. Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard.

Spring, J. (1994). The American school 1642-1993 (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

State Normal School Board (SNSB) of Minnesota. Minutes and Proceedings of the State Normal School Board and State Teachers College Board. Unpublished, original, handwritten documents, file no. 106.F.12.3. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Stowe, C. (1839). Normal schools and teachers' seminaries. (see Henry Barnard (1851). Normal schools, and other institutions, agencies, and means designed for the professional education of teachers. Pt. 1: United States and British Provinces, (pp. 123-149). Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany & Company.)

Stratton, E. A. (1986). Plymouth Colony: Its history and people 1620-1691. Salt Lake City, UT: Ancestry.

Stratton, J. L. (1981). Pioneer women: Voices from the Kansas frontier. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Stuhler, B. & Kreuter, G. (Eds.). (1977). Women of Minnesota. Selected biographical essays. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Sturnick, J. A., Milley, J. E. & Tisinger, C. A. (1992). Women at the helm: Pathfinding presidents at state colleges and universities. Washington, DC: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Swierenga, R. P. (Ed.). (1975). Beyond the Civil War synthesis: Political essays of the Civil War era. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Swisshelm, J. G. (1970). Half a century (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: Jansen, McClurg & Company. (Original work published in 1880)

Talbot, M. (1910). The education of women. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Tanner, G. C. (1905). Bishop Whipple and the schools at Faribault. (see Minnesota Historical Society. Minnesota Historical Society Collections (pp. 697-707). St. Paul, MN: Author.)

Taylor, B. S. T. (1929, October 29). Letter to Charles E. Little. Original handwritten document in Charles E. Little file. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Library, Special Collections.

Taylor, J. O. (1835). The district school; or, national education. Philadelphia, PA: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard.

Tharp, L. H. (1950). The Peabody sisters of Salem. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company.

Thoreau, H. D. (1864). Cape Cod. Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields.

Thurston, L. M. & Roe, W. H. (1957). State school administration. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Tisinger, C. A. (1991). Not a woman's job? In J. A. Sturnick, J. E. Milley & C. A. Tisinger (Eds.). Women at the helm: Pathfinding presidents at state colleges and universities (pp. 1-4). Washington, DC: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.

Titcomb, T. (1858). Titcomb's letters to young people, single and married. New York: Charles Scribner.

Touchton, J. G., Shavlik, D., & Davis, L. (1993). Women in presidencies: A descriptive study of women college and university presidents. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Twombly, S. B. (1986). Theoretical approaches to the study of career mobility: Applications to administrative career mobility in colleges and universities. Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, April 16-20, 1986. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service no. ED 271 548).

Tyack, D. & Hansot, E. (1982). Managers of virtue: Public school leadership in America, 1820-1980. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers. (Original work published 1951)

United States Census for the Year 1860, Barnstable County, Massachusetts. Washington, DC: National Archives.

Vance, H. A. (1904). Address. (see Peabody College for Teachers (1904). Brief addresses by James D. Porter and Hiram Albert Vance commemorative of thirty years of service by Julia A. Sears, Professor of Mathematics in George Peabody College for Teachers. Delivered in the College Chapel, December 8, 1904, pp. 3-4.)

Van Cleve, C. O. (1895). Three score years and ten: Life-long memories of Fort Snelling, Minnesota and other parts of the west (3rd ed.). Minneapolis, MN: Harrison & Smith. (Original work published in 1888)

Velivis, A. (1990). Leadership styles: A phenomenological study of women college presidents (Doctoral dissertation, The Union Institute, 1990). Dissertation Abstracts Internatonal, 51, 1927.

Venable, W. H. (1868). Be ye perfect. Ohio Educational Monthly: A western school journal, 9 (4), 123-125.

Wall, J. F. (1970). Andrew Carnegie. New York: Oxford University Press.

Warren, D. (Ed.). (1989). American teachers: Histories of a profession at work. New York: Macmillan.

Wheeler, K. J. (1988). Male and female college presidents: Leadership behaviors, attitudes, and demographic characteristics (Doctoral dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1988). Dissertation Abstracts International, 50, 638.

Wheelwright, T. (Ed.). (1971). Thoreau's Cape Cod with the early photographs of Henry W. Gleason. Barre, MA: Barre.

White, B. M., Brookins, J. A., Cannon, B., Gilman, C., Homquist, J. D., & Kidder, D. P. (Compilers). (1977). Minnesota votes: Election returns by county for presidents, senators, congressmen, and governors, 1857-1977. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society.

Winkler, J. K. (1931). Incredible Carnegie: The life of Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). New York: The Vanguard Press.

Winona Daily Republican. (1873-1874). Newspaper. Winona, MN: Author.

Winsor, J. (Ed.). (1881). The memorial history of Boston including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880. Vol. 4 The last hundred years (Pt. 2). Boston, MA: Ticknor & Company.

Wolfe, A. (1982). Women who dared: Northern teachers of the southern freedmen, 1862-1872 (Doctoral dissertation, City University of New York). Dissertation Abstracts International, 43, 1658.

Woloch, N. (1992). Early American women: A documentary history, 1600-1900. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Woloch, N. (1994). Women and the American experience, Vol. 2: From 1860 (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Wood, F. G. (1975). The era of reconstruction, 1863-1877. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Woodlee, B. W. (1992). Factors relating to retention of women as presidents in higher education leadership (Doctoral dissertation, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1992). Dissertation Abstracts International, 53, 1377.

Woody, T. (1929). A history of women's education in the United States. New York: Octagon Books.

Yarmouth. (1889). The celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Old Yarmouth, Mass. including the present towns of Yarmouth and Dennis. Yarmouth, MA: The Committee, Yarmouthport/Press of Fred Hallett.

Youel, D. B. (1968). Mankato State College: An interpretative essay. School Progress, 44, 4. Mankato, MN: Mankato State College.

Zwingle, J. L. & Rogers, M. E. (1972). State boards responsible for higher education, 1970. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

APPENDIX 1

BIRTH RECORD OF JULIA ANN SEARS

Constant Sears, and his Wife
Deborah, A Record of their Children

Thankfull Snow Sears	born March 1st 1826.	
Emely Sears,	" Augt 23d 1828.	
Mary Ann. Sears,	" April 22d 1831.	Died Nov 11th 1832.
Sarah R. Sears,	" Decr 18th 1833.	
Betsey T. Sears,	" Nov 27th 1836.	
Julia Ann. Sears,	" March 19th 1839.	
Amanda Frances, Sears,	" Decr 10th 1841.	

APPENDIX 2

NON-RENEWAL OF CONTRACT AND REBELLION AS EXPLAINED BY SEARS

Permit me through the columns of your paper to state briefly my position in connection with the unpleasant occurrences in the Mankato Normal School, hoping thereby to show to the members of the State Normal Board and all interested in the matter that I did not return to this school contending for a situation.

A few weeks after my return to Massachusetts I received a letter from the resident member of the board, stating that it was probable a male principal might be employed the coming year, and asking if I would return as assistant and at what salary. I immediately answered that if my duties as principal had not been performed acceptably I did not wish to continue in the school.

In a short time Mr. Austin again wrote me, assuring me that neither by the board, the citizens of Mankato, or the students, had he heard a word against the management of the school the previous year; he gave several reasons it was thought best to change, and said he had been urged to write again to see if I could not be pursuaded to reconsider my decision; that if I would return I should have the position of assistant principal; as far as the teaching was concerned it would be the same as before, and salary $1500. I accepted the position. Thus the matter rested from June until the last of July, when I was informed that I had been elected assistant principal of the Mankato Normal School at a salary of $1200; Mr. A[ustin] at the same time expressing his regret at the change in my salary, assuring me that he used every effort to prevent it, and again urging my return. Mr. John wrote me to the same effect.

I did not think this a very straight forward way of doing business, as Mr. A[ustin] had promised me $1500 without any condition, and it was then within two weeks of the time of my leaving home I supposed, thinking that school commenced August 20. I stated this in my answer to Mr. A[ustin] and that I did not care to return for that salary, but as it was so late I would return for half the year if he wished, but should feel at liberty to leave then if I chose. I requested a telegram in reply and received this, "All right---come."

I came and went into school, where I remained one week without the slightest idea that the position I held was claimed by another. At the end of the week I was notified of the resolution of the Normal Board.

On inquiry I learned of the complication of affairs; that Mr. Gage had taken the liberty to inform Mr. A[ustin] that I was not to return, he having derived his information from a letter written to himself and wife in which I incidentally stated that I did not expect to see them again in Minnesota.

This letter was written before giving Mr. A[ustin] my answer, not knowing at the time that Mr. G[age] was a member of the board.

Without waiting for my reply, Mr. A[ustin]employed another teacher. On the receipt of my letter stating that I would return for one term he asked Mr. G[age] what he should do; the reply was "Do what you think best." Had Mr. G[age] thought that I had declined the position why did he not say in reply that he considered I had no claim upon the place.

After the time of opening school was postponed until Sept. 1st, there was ample time to have informed me of the state of affairs; I should certainly have had no thought of coming, but Mr. A[ustin] says he considered the matter as entirely settled for the term. Mr. Hyde states that he was perfectly satisfied with the arrangment [sic] as agreed upon by Mssrs. Gage, Wilson and himself, and had no desire nor thought of its being changed.

Now the question arises, why, when the school was in operation and everything arranged satisfactorily to the teachers, was it not allowed to remain so?

I can but feel that by the members of the State Normal Board and particularly by the president, whom I have long known and regarded as a friend, I have been most unjustly treated.

J. A. SEARS

(Mankato Weekly Review, 23 September 1873, p. 2)

APPENDIX 3

CITIZENS' PETITION TO THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL BOARD

Whereas Miss Julia A. Sears was duly engaged for the current term to teach as assistant principal in the Mankato Normal School by the State Normal Board

And whereas Miss Sears has made a journey of two thousand miles at the summons of said Board and at great expense to herself and has already duly entered upon the discharge of her duties, giving in the discharge of the same entire satisfaction to the present Prin[cipal] of this Normal School and

Whereas the State Normal Board has voted to remove Miss Sears from her position as teacher in the School to the prosperity of which her eminent services as teacher and principal have heretofore so highly contributed and

Whereas the action of the Normal Board in removing Miss Sears, was taken in the absence of the resident director G. W. Austin, Esq.

Now therefore we the undersigned citizens of Mankato hereby earnestly protest against the action of the State Normal Board in removing Miss Julia A. Sears as an act of great injustice to her and as a blow at the welfare of the Normal School of Mankato, which excites among all its friends in this city the liveliest indignation; and we demand of the resident member of the State Normal Board that he lay this protest before the State Normal Board and ask that its late resolution removing Miss Julia A. Sears from her position in the Mankato Normal School be promptly recinded [sic] and that she be reinstated as assistant principal.

Mankato, Minnesota Sept. 8th, 1873.

APPENDIX 4

FAMILY TREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE SEARS SISTERS

Thankful Snow Sears m. Samuel S. **Hall**
B: 1 March 1826 B: 12 Aug.1824
D: 1905 D: 3 Apr. 1878

1. Helen A. m. William P. Doane
   B: 3 Jan. 1850 B: 1842

   a. Helen S m. Mc Ginnis
   b. Earnest W.

2. Thomas S.
   B: 27 Jan. 1852

   a. Samuel A.
   b. Anna May m. _____ Page
   c. Edna m. _____ Covill

3. Samuel C.
   B: 18, Jan. 1854

4. Charles E.
   B: 23, Sept. 1855

   a. Fred Everett
   b. Ida m. _____ Howes

5. Frederic
   B: 14, June 1858

6. Susie D.
   B: 5 Nov. 1860
   D: 1943

7. Elisha S.
   B: 16 Nov. 1861

8. James C.
   B: 5 Aug. 1867

Emily Sears m. Lathrop **Baker**
B:23 Aug. 1828 B:2 Nov. 1828
D:6 June 1920 D:16 Aug. 1901

1. Carrie D.
B: 9 May 1861
D:29 Oct. 1889

2. Austin L. m. Luella E. Baker
B:30 Jan. 1863 and Lida S.Littlefield
D:27 Mar. 1913

a. Harold S. m. Mabel Alice Canfield
B: 25 Feb. 1888 and Hazel Hawes
D: 26 Aug. 1947

1) Donald Sears
B:20 Feb. 1919

b. Melville m. Virginia Lawler
B: 6 May 1890
D: 4 April 1955

1) Melville m. Betty D. Lambert
B. 8 Aug. 1923

c. Austin L., Jr. m. Margaret Gardiner
B: 16 Dec. 1892 D: 6 Nov. 1956

1) Austin L., 3rd m. Maud F. Wason
B: 22 May 1918

3. Emily F.
B: 20 Mar. 1871
D: 21 Dec. 1879

Mary Ann Sears
B: 22 Apr. 1831
D: 10 Nov. 1832

Sarah R. Sears m. Milton Bostwick **Crowell**
B: 18 Dec. 1833 B: 1828
D: 1920 D: Dec. 1891

Betsey Thomas Sears m. Rufus **Smith**
B: 27 Nov. 1836 B: 2 May 1827
D: ca. 1893 D: ca. 1904

1. Alice Churchill
B: 6 Sept. 1882
D: Feb. 1975

2. Bessie M. m. Herman Taylor
B: 21 Apr. 1875 B: 2 Dec. 1862
D: 26 May 1946 D: 17 Feb. 1942

a. Milton Wight m. Sadie Perley
B: 12 Jan. 1904 D: Mar. 1989
D: 11 Nov. 1989

b. Evelyn Sears m. F. Leroy Foster
B: 9 Feb. 1907 B: 22 Dec. 1902

1) Richard Sears m. Helen _____
B: 23 Sept. 1932
D: 27 Jan. 1995

a) John m. Doon Allen
i) Julia
B: 3 Oct. 1994
ii) Evan
B: 3 Oct. 1994

b) David m. Kristine Etter
i) Adam
ii) Eliza

2) Alden m. Susan Kurtchner
B: 21 May 1939

a) Wayne m. Jennifer Smith
b) Douglas m. Sandra Keane

c. Carolyn E. m. Harvey Robinson
B: 27 Mar.1916 & Oliver Garver

1) Holly
2) Jay
3) Polly m. Tom Fukuhara

Julia Ann Sears
B: 19 Mar. 1839
D: 18 Sept. 1929

Amanda Frances Sears
B: 10 Dec. 1841
D: 24 Nov. 1924